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Desolation
OF
FRANCE
DEMONSTRATED.

O R,

Evident Proofs that one Half of the People
of that Kindom are destroyed.

Two Thirds of its Capital Stock consumed ;

And the Nation Reduc'd to such a Condition
that it cannot be Restored to the Flourish-
ing State it was in *Thirty Years ago*, in less
than Two hundred Years, and not then nei-
ther, except the whole Frame of their Go-
vernment be new Modell'd.

By a Person of Quality,
a Native of FRANCE.

Souligne

L O N D O N,

Printed for **John Salusbury** at the
Rising-Sun in *Cornhill*, 1697.

Tr. R.
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THE
Epistle Dedicatory.

To the Right Honourable Charles Mountague Esq; one of the Lords Commissioners of His Majesties Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

S I R,

BEING a Foreigner, and by consequence standing in need of a great Patronage, I presume to beg yours, not only as being a Personage of an Elevated Station, but because you are yet more considerable for your surprizing Penetration of Mind, and your incomparable Activity and Zeal for the Good of your Country, by which you have merited those Honourable Posts, that you do so worthily fill, and which I have reason to hope, are but the earnest of greater Advancements: But the chief Reason why I make bold to trouble your Honour with this Dedication, is, that amongst the many

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The Epistle Dedicatory.

Persons of Quality, who have done me the Honour to peruse this Book in Manuscript, and to testifie their Approbation of it, there was none who did so much encourage me to render it Publick as your self. So that if it be any ways useful to the Nation, as I hope it may, they will be obliged to your Honour for it.

I confess Sir, that my first intention was to Dedicate it to His Majesty, as tending very much to the Glory of *England*, and by consequence of his own Royal Diadem, but the meanness of my present Condition abated my Confidence to solicit Access to that great Prince, and therefore, Sir, seeing you were always pleased, out of your Zeal to the Publick welfare, to give me a favourable Reception, notwithstanding the narrowness of my Circumstances, I resolved upon this Dedication to your self, as one of His Majesties most faithful Ministers, which I beg you would accept as a Token of the singular Esteem, and profound Respect of,

Sir,

Your most Humble and most Obedient Servant,

*De Soulligné, Grandson to
Monsieur du Pleſſis Mornay.*

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

I Have observed several times when in Company of Ingenious Men both English and Refugees, that neither of them did know the State of this Kingdom, nor that of France, and that they did all judge England to be less populous, rich and potent, and France to be much more populous and rich than really it is, and that they had no right Notions of the present condition of France and of her Ruine. I observed also that several of the Refugees did long eagerly after their return into France, not thinking the Nation to be destroyed to that degree that it really is, fancying that she may be restored easily to her former Condition in a few years, and having in a manner forgot the Cruelties and Piousnesses of the Popish Church towards them. I observed likewise, that several English and French who have lent Money to the Publick, or to whom some may be owing otherwise, do vex themselves by fancying

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The Preface

the Affairs of the Kingdom to be in a worse Condition than they really are, because of the present scarcity of Money; That the Jacobites and other Enemies of the Government do harden themselves in their obstinacy, thinking the Kingdom not able to maintain the War any longer, and France to be still potent enough to dispossess K. V William by this War, and restore the late K. James, which makes them still to adhere to that Faction and is partly the cause of their frequent Conspiracies against the King's Life, and of several other disorders; France and her adherents in this Country, deceiving themselves mutually by making one another believe that they are stronger than they are, and fancying that England is ruined, which has been perhaps hitherto one of the causes of France's delaying to make Peace, because she seems to be always in great hopes of some fatal stroke and revolution in this Kingdom. I confess I have also been often times incensed against the French Court, as being the Causers of so many mischiefs, and having reduced that flourishing Kingdom to nothing, by Cruelties and Treacheries as well against their Neighbours as their own Subjects, and of so much Blood shed every where in Europe.

Those Reasons did oblige me about a year ago, to take the Pen in hand, in Order to undeceive so many People, which may be a Service to this Nation, the Allies, Refugees, and all the World, by showing them plainly, that France never was what they took her to be, even in the height of her Prosperity, and

to the Reader.

and that she is utterly ruined now, which is evident enough, from the great Efforts, Advances and Offers that she makes, notwithstanding her pride, towards obtaining a Peace; Whereas England is still in a hopeful Condition, notwithstanding the present scarcity of the Coin.

After I had made a considerable progress in the Work, being dubious whether or no I should publish it, I thought fit, before I determined any thing, to shew it to a Person of great Merit, that did Communicate it to several other Persons of Quality in the Government, who after the perusal of it, did exhort me to make it Publick, as being like to be useful to the World, and to my self. So that I did look upon those Encouragements, and particularly those that I had from the Honourable Person that I Dedicate this Book to, to whom I owe my Life, for had it not been for him I might have starved. I say, I did look upon those Encouragements as Orders which I was obliged to obey, because they came from Persons who had a right to command me.

Since that time, I have added to it, what the continuation of the War has added to the Desolation of the Kingdom of France, and some Events which have happened since, and made some other small Alterations.

A question not but those of the Contrary party will oppose it, for fear it should prejudice their Faction, and that some of my Country-men, amongst others, will for that reason do me all the ill

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ill Offices they can; I have been accustomed to those things of a long time.

I consider France in all respects, and in relation to all Orders and Ranks of People which are in it; I shew plainly the great disorders of the French Government, which are such that there was perhaps never any Nation amongst those that are called Christians, so ill Governed.

In the several manners of considering France, I am obliged to make use of Repetitions, but always with some diversity, and never but when the things are not common, but important, and which the Reader might let slip. My design being rather to instruct and to be useful than to tickle the Ears, or divert those wits who love trifles; So that I desire that the Things and Reasons may be pondered rather than the Words.

There have been diverse things writ both in French and English, for several years past upon the Affairs of France, but leaving those Papers to their own Merit, I can say, that I have borrowed nothing from them, that my Method is new, and I lay down several Principles, which they did not, and make a deeper search into things.

As for the Style, I know several Gallicisms will be found in it, and other Faults, because I was obliged to Compose in my self, being not in a Condition to pay a Translator. But yet understanding Men will find it plain and intelligible. The simplicity of it I shall not accuse, because it agrees with the simplicity of the Matter, as also with the Method, which is a kind of Political Arithmetica

to the Reader.

tick. And I hope the importance of the Subject, the strength of the Reasons, and the multitude of Thoughts will make amends for the Imperfection of the Style.

Some may be apt to ask, How I can pretend to be so well informed of the present condition of France, since I have been so long absent from it, because of the Persecution. I answer, That I had a competent knowledge of the Affairs of that Kingdom, of its Government, and of the State of the People before I left it, and that since that time I have taken special care to observe all the alterations that have happened.

But further, any sensible Man who reads my Book, may easily perceive that I build all my Positions upon Universal, Plain and certain Principles, fitted to the meanest Capacity, from which I draw my Consequences, which I submit to any Man's Judgment.

I am confident, that several of my Country men will think it strange, that being of a noted Family in France, having some Interest to manage in that Kingdom, and being uneasy in England, that I should expose my self thus, seeing the Peace seems to be in a great forwardness, by Publishing such a Book which cannot but highly provoke the Rulers in France, who are informed of all things, and soon or late will revenge it one way or other. I foresee all this as well as they, but I think my self obliged to do it in Conscience and Honour.

I do not see any Reason why it should not be as lawful to me, as for several French Generals and other

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other Officers among the Refugees, who are in the Service of this Nation and other Confederates, to do what I can for the Service of those Nations who have generously sheltered us, against those who, instead of being our Fathers and Protectors, have behaved themselves towards us in the most barbarous manner against all Laws both Divine and Humane. The same Motives which influence those good Refugees, of whom I spoke just now, induce me to this; If so be they deserve to be commended for what they do, I hope I am not to be blamed for this. It would be a gross mistake to think that one may not as usefully and lawfully serve a Nation with his Pen as with his Sword, since we deal with Men, who may be persuaded by Reason, and that we can thereby give advise at once to Millions of People of what they are to do, expect or fear. A poor Man has sometimes saved a whole Nation, by his good Counse'. If there be any Man so unreasonable as to fancy that because I am a French man Born, I ought out of Conscience to abstain from the displaying the weakness of France as I do, he would be guilty of a gross error, to believe that a Prince or a Nation may trample under foot all the Duties of humane Society and Religion, in Relation to their Subjects, and that the Subjects notwithstanding should not be allowed to make complaints and publish the Folly and Excesses of their quondam Rulers, even when they are delivered from under their Bondage; and that the same Subjects should not be permitted to serve according to their Ability, their Benefactors, under whose Protection they live quietly,

to the Reader.

esly, and worship God according to his Word and the light of their Conscience, to whom moreover, they have sworn Allegiance and Fidelity, to serve 'em, I say, against those who have behav'd themselves towards 'em like so many Cruel and Ravenous Wolves, both as to the Affairs of Body and Soul, and behave themselves still in the same manner towards their Brethren in France, and seem besides to be the Universal Enemies to Mankind.

Some maybe apt to think that I writ this Book out of Passion and Revenge.

I confess, that never any Resentment was so well grounded as this might be. But yet I profess that tho' I abhor their conduct and wickedness, 'tis not from a Spirit of Revenge that I writ this, and I have already given an Account of the true Motives which induced me to it.

Any Body may observe, there is no Nation to which my Book might be so useful, as to France if she would be pleased to follow my Advice.

I represent only the Mischiefs which her People groans under, but I do her none, but on the contrary, all that I say tends naturally to the healing of her diseases, if so be she thinks fit to make use of the Remedies which I propose. If any Man say that I take a delight in her Calamities and that I aggravate them, I declare here in all sincerity, That I think they are greater than what I say, and that I wish earnestly and with all my Soul, that they would repent; And if France ever comes to her self

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self, there is no reward so great but I may deserve it at her hands for the good Advices I give her. I am sure that all the honest People of that Kingdom will thank me for it, and 'tis better to please one honest Man in doing my Duty than a Million of ill Men by neglecting it.

'Tis true, I reprehend the Excesses of the French Government, as I think my self obliged to do in Conscience and from the principle of Love which I bear to Mankind, and I am of Opinion that if it is commendable to give good Advice to a private Person by discovering his Faults to others and himself, it is a thousand times more commendable to give Advice to a great State, which may be serviceable to millions of Souls, and sometimes to all the World.

By this Treatise the Court of France will be better informed than hitherto of the Affairs of England, for it would seem that they flattered themselves, as if the strength of this Kingdom had been exhausted, which is far from the truth, seeing the Nation if it will, may be in a better condition than ever.

It may also be observed that I speak good of France without partiality as well as evil, and that I take the Liberty to reprehend the Faults and Defects of our best Friends, for in general I hate disorder, and would have all things go on in their proper course.

to the Reader.

It will be also found that I have wholly followed a new Method, in displaying by Reasons purely Political, the falsehood of the Romish pretended Religion, by its Natural and Perpetual Opposition to the good of States, the repose of People, and good Morals, which alone is enough to render it detestable to all those who love Order, Justice and the Prosperity of Nations, tho' there were nothing to be said against it from the Word of God.

I hope that equitable Persons who shall be convinced of my good intention and of the usefulness of my labours, will grant me an easie pardon for all the Errours, Defects and Imperfections which they may perhaps meet with, such things being common to all Mankind.

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THE

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T H E
Defolation and Ruine
O F
FRANCE
Demonstrated, &c.

C H A P. I.

TH E Ruine and Defolation of *France* is now become the common Theme of Discourse, and the most ordinary Subject of Conversation, especially amongst the *Refugees* in all Countries where they are dispersed; but none of those that I have heard discoursing about it seem to have any just Notion of the degree of Oppression which that Kingdom labours under, but all their Ideas are very much below the reality. This, together with my desire to serve the Publick, hath obliged me to examine the matter thoroughly, and I make bold to say, That I have made deeper enquiries into this Matter

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than any body else has done, and shall now submit my Discoveries to the Judgment of the publick.

I begin with the Diminution of the People of that Kingdom, which I am sure is much greater than is commonly judged to be; 'tis the chief and most important part of the desolation of *France*, and the great cause of all those Evils and Calamities under which it groans.

The better to convince the World of the truth of this, I will make use of a Supposition already granted; which I think the most reasonable that can be made upon that Subject, *viz.* That there might be in the Kingdom of *France* about 14 Millions of Subjects 30 years ago, when it was in its most flourishing condition; there are 27 thousand Parishes in that Kingdom, and it is probable, there might be 500 Souls in each Parish, one with another, which makes 13 Millions and a half. I do not here include the Conquests, because they do not properly belong to the Kingdom, and 'tis like they will be returned to those to whom they justly belong.

The Computation which I make of there having been 13 Millions and a half of People in *France*, is confirmed by the proportion which there is between the Extent of *France* and that of *England*, as also between the number of Parishes in the two Kingdoms. *France* contains 82 Millions of Acres, and *England* 30 Millions. There are in *France* 27 Thousand

land Parishes, as has been said already, and in *England* about 10 thousand. Now if it be the common estimation, that in the 30 Millions of Acres, and the 10 Thousand Parishes in *England*, there are not above 6 Millions of People; 'tis not probable that there could be in the 82 Millions of Acres, and the 27 thousand Parishes in *France*, above 13 Millions and a half, by reason that a *Popish* Nation under an Arbitrary Government, cannot be supposed to be so well peopled as a *Protestant* Nation under a Mild Government; besides several other Reasons which I intend to produce hereafter. So that the Parishes in *England* may reasonably be computed to be a sixth part more populous than those in *France*. So that if the Parishes in *England* have but 600 Souls one with another, those in *France* could never exceed the number of 500, one with another. In its most flourishing condition.

'Tis probable that the *French* King's Subjects decreased at least a third part in number, and an half in strength and value. I mean, That tho' the Diminution does not perhaps exceed the Third part as to the number, reckoning the generality of Men, Women, and Children; yet it cannot be less than a full half in value, in respect that the Adult Men are much more diminished in number than Women; Now it is the number of Men, who without contradiction, makes a People valuable, since 'tis they who Cultivate the Land,

Trade by Sea , imploy themselves in Manufactures and Arts ; pay Taxes, and make War: And the Decrease is so much the more considerable, because the greatest part of the Men who have been destroyed were of that sort, and not of those who are rather Burthen some than Profitable to a Nation ; of which I shall take notice hereafter. Insomuch that reducing the 13 Millions and an half of Souls to 9 Millions at this day , that is, to the two thirds of what they were 30 years ago ; 'tis reasonable to say, That there being in this number many more Women and Children proportionably, than Men, the said 9 Millions are not at present worth 6 Millions 750 Thousand, that is the half of the promiscuous Mass of the 13 Millions and a half, which we supposed to have been in *France* 30 years ago, because there were then many more Men proportionably than now, especially of that sort who were imployed in Husbandry , Manufactures , Trade and Handicrafts, of which sort (if we consider what belongs to working, and the usefulness of their labour) one is worth two or three other Persons taken in general out of the Mass of Mankind. At that time there might be near upon the like number of Men as of Women, whereas now there is great reason to believe there are at least two Women to one Man. Now if we value them according to their Work, and to the Profit which they may bring thereby to the Commonwealth,

wealth, as must be done, and as always is done by those who buy Slaves, a Man is commonly estimated as much or more than two Women, *ceteris paribus*.

But some may imagine that I aggravate the matter, when I say, there is not in value the half of the People which was in *France* 30 years ago, and that half of the Men is perished. But I would beseech those who make that objection, to inform themselves from such sensible persons as have come from *France* within this 12 Months, and they will tell them that there are no Men almost to be seen in little Towns and Boroughs, but only Women; that most of the Houses are uninhabited, and the greatest part of the Lands and Vines uncultivated for want of Men; and 'tis known, that for the same reason the ordinary Taxes yield less by half to the King, than they did formerly, tho' Taxes be much greater in proportion to the Extream Misery of the People, than they were 30 years ago, when every body was richer. For that very Reason, 'tis that the Poll-Tax has fallen so much below the King's expectation. And in truth, when we revolve in our thoughts the *French* King's conduct for these 30 years last past, we cannot call in Question his Kingdom's being depopulated one half at least; when we consider that of a long time it has been engaged in War, which hath destroyed a great multitude of the Subjects. No body is ignorant, how that in

time of Peace he kept 200 Thousand Men in Arms, without including the Servants of Officers; and they were all unmarried Men for the most part, who consequently could not People the Land, but were rather very troublesome to the industrious part of the People, and by that means obstructed propagation; 'tis known, that when he did not think it time to declare War against any of his Neighbours, he did lend his Forces to other Princes and Nations that were in War, as he did to the *Emperor*, and to the *Venetians* against the *Turks* in *Hungary* and *Candia*, to the *Dutch* against the *Bishop of Munster*, to the *Portuguese* against the *Spaniards*, &c. Every body knows, that there went out of the Kingdom from time to time, or rather continually, for 30 years past, an incredible number of Subjects into the Conquered Provinces and Towns to seek for a Refuge there, against the Vexations they suffered in their Native Country in hopes to be less tormented with Impositions, and to live more at quiet: There they got their livelyhood more easily, and took Wives; The Governours of Provinces and Towns did encourage them in their new Settlements, and imployed them preferably to the Natives of these places, about all sorts of Work, both for the King and themselves, as thinking they would be useful to keep the conquered People in subjection. What prodigious multitudes besides was there in the Kingdom of those called *Gabeleurs*,
(that

(that is, Tax-men & Collectors, the Instruments and Tools of the insatiable avarice of the general & particular Farmers of the Imposts) who were Unmarried for the most part, and did besides devour the poor people ; all which are things very hurtful to Propagation ; without mentioning the multitudes of Officers of all kinds, as well of Judicature as others, whose numbers are so much increased these 30 years last, and who did all swallow up the Substance of the People, and consequently were fit for nothing else, but to depopulate the Country. Moreover, what prodigious quantity of Soldiers hath not the King maintained in the Armies, these 8 years last ? I believe every Body will agree, that reckoning Infantry, Cavalry, Dragoons, Artillery, and what belongs to it, Ammunition, Provisions, Militia, Fleets and Gallies, which he kept at Sea ever since the War, except the last year, there could not be less than 400 thousand Men in his Service, without including Officers Servants. It has been observed by the Lists of Recruits, that every year, one with another, a third part of those Men was missing, especially of the regular Land Forces, and if we count only the fourth part, it will come to 100 thousand Men every year, and during the 8 years of War, to 800 thousand, without mentioning those that remain and compose the Armies, which instead of being useful to the Kingdom, as to what concerns Husbandry, Manu-
factures

factures, Trade and Arts, are very troublesome to the other Subjects imployed in those things, and make them to lose a great part of their Time, by their Marches, Counter-marches, Lodgings and Sojournings. Not to mention their Robberies and Thefts, I grant that many of them are not Natives of *France*, but *Switzers*, *Germans*, *Irish*, and others, besides those compelled by force out of the new Conquests; and I suppose that those Forreigners may make up the 8th part of the whole: But I have not counted amongst the said 400 thousand the Servant-men in his Garrisons and Armies at Land and Sea, which amount no doubt, to 100 thousand Men at least; of which a great many die every year, tho' in lesser numbers than the Soldiers, because they are better maintained, and less exposed to danger; and for the same reason fewer of 'em desert. But however, great numbers of them perish every year. 'Tis also observable, that very few of them Marry: So that the like number of Women is thereby rendred useles for Propagation; for experience teaches us, and we may be convinced of it by the Bills of Nativity, and Mortality in any City, that near upon as many Men as Women are born; which shews they are made one for the other. As for the Bastards which Church-men and others beget on those poor Women, experience shews us also, that such Children do commonly come to nothing. In the mean time, the Men who stay at

at home, die as fast as usually, and faster too, by reason of the extream poverty under which they groan, so that they are not able to procure themselves means of recovery when they fall sick; and their place is not filled up, as it used to be, by Young Men, because most of them perish in the War, and so the course of ordinary Propagation is interrupted; To which must be added, that as to the small number of Batchelors or Widowers remaining, who might Marry, there is perhaps not one among twenty who does it, since this War, by reason of the intolerable Taxes, from which no condition of Men is free, but fall much heavier upon the Married People, who are settled, than upon the Unmarried. And even amongst those that have some Estate, very few marry; because, during the War, all things are uncertain, and in confusion; Every one is ignorant of the state of other Mens Affairs, nor know they what will become of them at last, and because such, who seem to have something of their own at present, has perhaps in reality nothing, or will be reduced to that condition in a little time, because VVar and Taxes devour and consume all, without distinction. These 10 or 12 years last, very few Marriages have been made in *France*, but especially since the War. So that the Kingdom must needs in a little time suffer extremely by that Interruption of Propagation for so many years; for it fares with a Nation

tion in this respect as with an Orchard of Trees ; where, unless you take care to plant and graft every year new Trees in the Room of those which Age or blasting Winds snatch away, after a certain time there will be none remaining.

But this is not all, for besides the want of Marriage, the accidents of War, and other disorders which I have spoken of, there is an incredible number of Men, Women and Children, who for a long time have perisht thro' extream poverty and misery, tho' fewer Men than Women, because their number is less, and fewer Children do also perish for that same Reason. Whereupon it is proper to take notice of Sir *William Petty's* Observation, confirmed by Mr. *Azont*, a famous Mathematician belonging to the *French King* ; which is this, viz. That in the Hospitals of *Paris* alone, there dyed yearly, only for want of good treatment, above 3500 Souls, more than did proportionably in the *London Hospitals*, and that the worst Hospital of this City, was better than the best of *Paris* ; I shall add to what this ingenious Man said, that notwithstanding the inhumanity of those Hospitals in *France*, the Poverty of the Common-people in *Paris* is so great, that those poor People find themselves obliged upon the least indisposition to go into the Grand Hospital of that City, which they call, *Hotel-dieu*, that is to say, God's House, but deserves better to be called

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The Devils House, than that murdering Hold in the Castle of *Namur* which did bear that Name, there they lye four and four in every Bed, two at the Head and two at the Feet; and most times a poor sick person, whose poverty is his greatest Disease, and who would presently recover if he could have good Food, is laid in the same bed with another who is at the point of Death, or has an infectious Distemper, and sometimes with a dead Carcass that is carried away two hours after to the Grave; So that 'tis no wonder, if they soon perish when treated in that barbarous manner; That kind of death was formerly invented and practised by certain Ancient Tyrants, as a cruel punishment to Criminals, causing them to be tyed to a dead and stinking Carcass, that they might feel themselves rot by degrees together with the Carrion. 'Tis a piece of cruelty that deserves the curse both of God and Man; and 'tis surprizing that no body, that I know of, hath hitherto had so much charity and generosity as to make complaint to the World of that horrid abuse; but on the contrary, they are so far from complaining against it, that there is hardly one year, but many Estates and Sums are bequeathed by dying persons to that Hospital, and they use also in the Courts of Judicature to adjudge part of the Fines to which people are condemned for the maintenance thereof. The Directors of that Hospital enjoy vast Revenues belonging to that House, which

which are more than sufficient to maintain all the sick who are brought into it very well; nay, a much greater number, and likewise to furnish a Bed for every one of them. If it be said, that the place is too narrow, I answer, it were easie to build a larger; they have Stock enough for that, or, at least, they had formerly; for, I must confess, that I am of opinion that their Revenues are very much sunk since the VVar, as well as the Revenues of others, and even of the Clergy themselves; yet it had been easie for them to hire as many Houses in the Neighbourhood, as they should have needed. The observation of that ingenuous *English* Knight, and likewise what I have made bold to add to it, being true, as indeed it cannot be doubted, if the proofs that he hath brought for it be considered, we may reasonably conclude, that there must die in the rest of *Paris* at that time a far greater number than in the *Hotel-dieu*, for it is known, that no sick body can come into that abominable place, without great recommendations, such is the multitude of those who are brought thither; so that there is reason enough to believe, that there died for want of necessaries, thro' meer poverty, at least as many in the rest of the City, as there did in that Hospital. This cannot be questioned, if we consider the misery of the other poor people at *Paris*, which are numerous there, as well as in the other places of the Kingdom; 'Tis 13 or 14 years ago, since a Church-man of Quality
and

and one of the honestest Men of that kind, in *France*, who had some share in the Direction of the Alms bestowed upon the poor of that City, did assure a Person of honour, that an incredible number of the Inhabitants of *Paris* did receive Alms, and that in one Parish only, which he named to him, there were more thousands of Alms People than I am willing to name. This is known also, that the poor at *Paris* are very much straitned in their Lodgings, most of them live in the tops of Houses, in the fifth or sixth Story, which kills multitudes of them by climbing so high : And when they are kept a Bed by sickness, they must needs perish for want of help ; so that it was no wonder at all, if the Bills of Mortality at *Paris*, when published (which they are not at present) did approach so near those of *London*, as to the number of Dead, tho' there was much less people at *Paris*, than at *London*. And altho' the number of the people of *Paris* must needs be diminished, a third part at least, since Sir *William Petty's* Observation, yet I will make bold to affirm, that there dies more people there at present than formerly, because of their want of help, their Poverty being increased very much since that time ; But suppose there should not have died at that time and since, for want of necessaries, above 7 thousand at *Paris* yearly, comprehending therein the 3500 who died in the Hospitals, by their barbarous treatment aforesaid ; what ought

ought we to judge of the rest of the Kingdom, when considering that *Paris* is the Center of its riches, and consequently a place where the poor ought to be best helped ! The Inhabitants of *Paris* at that time, that is, 15 or 16 years ago, did not make above the 27th or 28th part of the People of the Kingdom ; So that if as many proportionably had dyed for want of help in the Country, as at *Paris*, which I do not think there did, to what a prodigious number would that have amounted ? besides those who use to dye by Age, and Diseases.

Then if things were so at that time, the Reader may easily guess how it may be at this day : And moreover, 'tis known that the 5th or 6th part of the Nation was snatcht away by Famine and Mortality two years ago

I do not mention the Persecution, which destroyed abundance of people by Hunger, Cold, and Nakedness ; besides what fell by the hand of the Hangman, or the Sword. Those that were banished out of the Kingdom, were indeed a great number of Subjects : Yet I confess they are more considerable by the Wealth they carried out of the Nation, than by their numbers, tho' not inconsiderable neither in that respect, since they amounted, as I judge, to about 150 thousand Souls.

So that above one half of the Men have perished within these 30 years, and at least one third part of the whole people ; So that it is
much,

much, if of the 13 Millions and a half, which were supposed to have been in *France* about thirty years ago, there be 9 Millions remaining, amongst which we can scarcely suppose there are two Millions of Men.

If we come next to consider the great number of Men unfit for work amongst those 2 Millions, which is almost as great now as when the Men were twice as many, viz Those who either by their Estates, Dignity or Profession, or by bodily Infirmary are dispensed from working, we may easily be convinced, that those who are in the Armies at Land and Sea, and in Garrisons, being most in the prime of their Age, and able to work, should do more work, if employed about Husbandry, Arts and Trade, than all the rest of the Men in the Kingdom. So that we see only by this Article of the People, which includes all the Riches and Strength of a Nation, how impossible 'tis for that Kingdom, which is half depopulated, to recover it self in a long time, according to the Observation of Naturalists, and of those who have studied the Progress of Nativity and Mortality in Nations; for they have observed, that no less than 200 years is requisite for doubling the number of Inhabitants in them, allowing what is to be allowed for Epidemical Diseases, Famines and War, which used to snatch away now and then great multitudes. So that these things being considered, the Kingdom of *France* should require 200 years to recover

recover it self to what it was thirty years ago.

We flatter our selves, for want of pondering things, that a Peace for 10 or 12 years would restore all things to their former state. But how can a Nation, destroyed to that degree as *France* is, by Absolute Power, retrieve it self under the same Absolute Power, in so little a time? I dare be bold to say, That not only 200 years, but even 2000 could not do it. The fire may as soon restore things consumed by fire, as Despotical Government restore *France* to its former State. So that the Government of *France* must needs be changed, or else it is impossible that *France* should ever be able to rise again; and it seems every whit as impossible that the Monarchy should subsist without such a change. I remember that in the first year of the great War betwixt *France* and *Holland*, under the general pretence of the *Ill Satisfaction*, the *French* King received from the *Dutch* the Lands and Houses which were already very much fallen of the former value, did decrease yet more all of a sudden, which continued decreasing to the end of the War. It was expected that after the Peace, they should rise again to the former value; But on the contrary, tho' the Nation was very much exhausted, yet the Taxes grew more and more with the Princes Vanity, one Oppression did follow upon the back of another; so that we saw nothing but opposition; the value of all Estates did decrease more and more. But what

what was that War in comparison of this? Trade, Husbandry, Manufactures, and Arts which are now ruin'd, did flourish then. We had plenty of Money, Men, and Horses at that time, and our Taxes and Impositions, tho' excessive, had not such a Disproportion to the Ability of the People, as those exacted at this day.

But let us suppose *gratis* that the King should repent of all the Evil he has done, and his Government should become Milder, or that the *Dolphin* were to Succeed him in a little time; will this bring to life again so many Millions of People destroyed? Will it repair the dreadful Effects of the want of Propagation, during such a long time, of which want, Posterity will be more sensible than those who live at present, because all those Children which have failed as to the present Generation, would be but young, and as yet unfit for work; whereas 20 years hence they would be Adult Men and Women. Where shall we have all the People that are necessary to inhabit such a great number of Towns, Borroughs, Villages, and Houses, Dispeopled, Abandoned, and falling to Decay? Who shall Cultivate so many Vineyards and forsaken Lands overgrown with Shrubs and Weeds? Moreover, the three parts of the Coin of the Nation hath been dissipated. Wind and Water-mills, Causeys and Banks of Rivers are for the most part overthrown, or demolisht; the High-ways, and even Streets in Cities and Towns are unpassable

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n most Places, the Bridges fallen down, and publick Buildings, and Hospitals desolate; and the King having possessed himself of the Revenues of those Hospitals that are in the Provinces; what will become of the Sale of Offices and Places? or rather, of what use will they be? and if that custom be laid aside as it seems but reasonable it should: The Officers, part of whose Estates consist in that Merchandize, ought at least to be reimbursed in part of the Sum which they laid out to buy them, and so the People must be vexed by the raising of those Sums for a great many years. It was judged before the War, that the Stock of all the Offices of the Kingdom did amount to above 1200 millions of Livers, and it has increased since at least 200 Millions, I mean the Offices of Judicature, Finances and Civil Government, and all others, whether they depend upon any of those three Orders, or otherwise. I believe indeed, that most of those who bought them, would willingly sell them again, if they could, for the 4th or 5th part of what they gave for them, because the said Offices bring them very little profit, and that they judge they will bring them less hereafter; besides that, they serve for a pretence to the King to demand ever and anon considerable Sums of Money from the Possessors under the different names of Taxes, Loans, Increase of Wages, or Additions of new Rights and Prerogatives to the Offices that they are in possession of, and such like

like ; But if so be the King had a mind to reimburse them the 4th or 5th part of what they laid out in the purchase of them, where should those 3 or 400 Millions be found? especially if we consider that the King Owes vast Sums to his Subjects, that have been borrowed upon his own account, which, 'tis like, will never be paid them again. On the other side, if the Sale of Places and Offices continues to have its course, and if so be the Places remain in as great numbers as they are at this day, or were before the War, there will be no proportion between that huge multitude of Offices, and small number of Subjects, much less between such a number of Officers and the Peoples Wealth or Abilities, which will be diminished not only one half, but above three 4ths, taking all the Kingdom in general, as I shall shew hereafter. So many Offices would be an intolerable Oppression to a People so ruined ; and it would be altogether impossible that those Officers could subsist in such great numbers, no not even the half of them. Every body knows, that as the King sold their Places very dear, they think themselves authorized to improve them as much as they can, *per fas & nefas*, and though they had gotten no more but the Interest of their Money every year, at twenty years purchase, it would have amounted to 7 Millions of Livers. But I think we may boldly affirm, that they doubled it at least, for those Gentlemen for the most part did not give away their pains

and time for nothing The Author of the last Will of Mr. *Colbert*, whether he be the late Deceased *Colbert*, or any other Ingenious Man, assures us, that the Officers of Judicature alone did get from the People's Substance above 200 Millions yearly. I cannot tell whether he aggravates the Matter or no, but be how it will, one may see by this, that I am moderate, when I reckon only 140 Millions of Livers, for what the same Officers with those of the *Finances* and *Civil Government*, did raise together from the People. I do nor here include the Sallaries which the King is bound to give them for the Executing those Offices, for besides that they are inconsiderable, and but ill paid too; they are obliged in order to secure the same to their Familys, to pay to the King the *Annual Right*, as they call it, every year, which is very near as much as the Sallery promised them; and which is also very pleasant, the King oft-times will not discount for the Sallaries he owes them, so that they are forced to pay the *Annual Right* exactly, or lose their Places.

But after all this, what shall we do with that numerous Army of Exactors, Tax-men, Collectors, and other mischievous Tools belonging to the general and particular Farmers of the Imposts; which, as I said already, were reckoned formerly to be about 100 thousand in number, thro' all the Kingdom, but are Decreased very much since this War, by reason of the People's Diminution and Poverty; so that

that they cannot now bear the charges of Maintaining so great a number of them. That sort of People formerly cost as much as all the Armies both by Land and Sea, tho' the King did not give a Farthing of his own for their Maintenance; for his Revenues were brought into his Coffers free, and without any costs, to the Sum of above 132 Millions of Livers yearly, besides the extraordinary Imposts which he did raise now and then, according to his fancy, as well in time of Peace as of War. I confess those Caterpillars are not so numerous at present, and I believe they may be decreased one half in number, but however, they are still very chargeable to the People. VVho then can imagine that the Kingdom will be able after the Peace to bear such a vast expence? I do not mention the other Mischiefs of all kinds, which those Collectors did perpetrate, as Frauds, Extorsions, Unjustices, Violences and Rapines, which they did commit then, and no doubt do still upon People of all Ranks and Conditions, being supported and authorized therein by the Ministers of State, and by the Intendants, even in those Cases where the King's Service was not concerned. Does any Man believe that the King will consent to the diminishing of his Household and Armies by Land and Sea, in proportion to the decrease of his People and their riches? I do indeed think that he will be obliged to do it, against his VVill, but not to such a degree

as may be necessary. VVho will oblige him to be contented with 20 or 30 Millions of Livers yearly, and with 30 or 40 thousand Men in his Garrisons, which would be very convenient, to the end the people might breath a little? VVho shall persuade him to abandon all his Conquests, which are fit only to depopulate his Kingdom, and cannot fail to rekindle the fire of VVar again very suddenly?

But all that I have said hitherto of the Mischiefs which I fore-see will befall the Kingdom after a Peace, is nothing in comparison of the Cruel VVar, which Creditors will declare against their Debtors; for 'tis probable, that on the footing whereon all the Estates of the Kingdom now stand, that is to say, the 82 Millions of Acres which are in it; 'tis probable, I say, that the Lands, Houses, Personal Estates and Offices, will not be sufficient to pay all the Debts contracted upon them, or with which they are charged; So that 'tis unavoidable, that, after the Peace, be it made how it will, but that an innumerable multitude of people will be stript of all they have. For all the Stocks in the Kingdom, taken in general, will not be worth the 4th part, nor perhaps the 8th or the 10th of what they were 30 years ago. So that Debtors or Creditors, must needs be ruined, or at least they must lose the greatest part of their Estates; there is no *medium* for it, and that which is worse, both the one and the other will be ruined at once:

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For if so be the Creditor is not paid, he will be reduced to Beggery, his Estate consisting in Debts, if paid, the Debtor must be ruined, and yet the Debt not perhaps fully paid. For example, a Debtor may have one Land-Estate, or more, which was worth a hundred thousand Crowns before the VVar, and upon this he hath contracted a Debt of 25 or 30 thousand Crowns, whereas his Land-Estate at present is worth but 20 thousand Crowns, what then will become of him and his Family in case he pays his Debts, which amount to 30 thousand Crowns? And in case he pays them not, what will become of his Creditor? Another example may be this; A Man who was formerly a wealthy Man, has lent, suppose 20 thousand Crowns to one or several persons, and at another time has borrowed of some body 10 thousand Crowns; if that Man has any means left him, his Creditors will oblige him to pay the 10 thousand Crowns that he is owing to them, and if so be his Debtors are not solvent he is utterly ruined, for the rest of his Estate, that might be worth formerly 40 or 50 thousand Crowns, has been sold for 10 thousand, which he gave to his Creditors, or perhaps for 5 thousand: For, to say the truth, I do not think the real Estates can be sold in France hereafter, for above the 10 part of what they were worth 30 years ago; 'Tis the same with Offices, which many have purchased with borrowed Money, and have mortgaged their

Offices to the Persons who lent the Money, of which the value is also prodigiously fallen. In general, there were very few persons, nay, even of the Richest, who had most owing them, but they were also owing something to others. In particular, almost all the great ones of the Kingdom were drowned in Debts, even before the War, and a great number of others of all Conditions, had also obtained from the King, *Letters of State*, as they call them, in order to be discharged from paying their Debts, under colour, that they, or their Brothers, or Children did serve the King; which Debts being not paid, neither Principal nor Interest, are every day multiplying *ad infinitum*, when at the same time their Land-Estates are destitute of Husbandmen and Cattle, and their Houses falling to Ruine. I ask again, what must become of so many People, both Creditors and Debtors, who will, by this means, be brought to despair? and besides 'tis certain, that Lawyers, whose numbers are extreamly increased since this War, and who have been exhausted by Taxes, and are thereby become greedy and famished, will devour and swallow up both Creditors and Debtors, since they did ever so, even when they were in a prosperous condition.

I further ask, what will become of the 4 or 500 thousand Soldiers, who either never had any Estates, or have lost them by the Common Fate of the Kingdom, and who are used to Violence

Violence and Rapine in a Nation so much desolated and shattered, and where all things will stand in Confusion? For the King will be forced, against his will, to dismiss at least three parts of them. They will certainly become as many Rapparees, who will not fail of Trooping together in order to Pillage and Plunder Towns and Borroughs, or serve as Instruments to the Princes of the Blood, and other Grandees of the Kingdom, and to all those who may perhaps be discontented with the Elevation of *Lewis's* the XIV. Bastards, or their own Condition; and by this means kindle a Civil War in the Kingdom.

So that it appears evidently by what I have hitherto represented, that *Lewis* the XIV. is none of that sort of Conquerours, who Inrich and People their Native Countries by their Conquests since he has wasted and ruined his Kingdom by the same. Other Sovereigns are wont in their necessary Wars to imploy but a very small part of their Subjects, in comparison of those who remain at home; and to spend but a small Portion of their Peoples Revenues, and not their Stock, especially when acting offensively; but he on the contrary, maintains 4 or 500 thousand Men in his Armies, while above half the Land in the Kingdom is Untilled for want of Men; and hath already consumed in this War the half of his People, and above three parts of the Substance of his Kingdom, as I shall shew hereafter more particularly:

ticularly : Infomuch that if all the Revenues of the Kingdom, as well as that which proceeds from Real and Personal Estates, as that which proceeds from Industry, were worth a thousand Millions of Livers yearly, as I conceive they were 30 years ago, they are not worth above 300, or at the utmost 400 Millions at present.

CHAP II.

A more Punctual and Particular Account of the present Condition of FRANCE.

WE come now to a more particular & larger Account of the present and past value of all Estates in *France*, and shall endeavour to discover, if possible, what difference there may probably be between their value 30 years ago, and their value at this day. I have said already, that I did not think, that the Revenues of all Estates, Real and Personal, of the Kingdom, taken in general, did amount now in clear Money, Repairs being paid, to above the third part of what they did amount to 30 years ago, tho' there may be in some parts of the Kingdom, near the Frontiers, some Lands and Houses, which may yield as much
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or more Revenue now than they did formerly: And I ground my Judgment upon this, that the one half of the Men are perished, or are employed in the War, and that the half of those who are left are unprofitable for Husbandry, and all sorts of Trade, so that strictly speaking, there is not remaining the third part of the Men fit for work, which there were 30 years ago in the Kingdom; I ground what I say upon this, that the most part of the Lands are untill'd, and Houses forsaken, and even whole Towns, Burroughs, Villages and Parishes deserted in many places of the Kingdom; so that Trade is interrupted both within and without the Nation; all the Manufactures are at a low Ebb; all Arts decayed, and Money is scarce; so that there is little consumption of Commodities; there is great want of Cattle, as well for number as for kind, Horses fit for Husbandry, are extremely dear and scarce; The Farmers are exhausted by the enormous Taxes laid upon them, which at last falls heavy upon the Proprietor of the Land, and makes his Estate to be worth so much the less; there is also great scarcity of Farmers, and all sorts of Labourers; they are extreme poor, and being ill maintained, they are the less able to work: The multitude of Beggars in the Kingdom is incredible, and several amongst them commit Robberies, and Steal away the Fruits of the Country, and whatever they can catch besides, being unwilling to work, and live always

always at the charges of the Country. The Kingdom is spoiled and ruined by the Marches, Countermarches, Quarterings, and Robberies of Soldiers, Troopers, Recruits, Militia, Ban and Rear-Ban. The Taxes laid upon all Proprietors of Lands and Houses under several denominations, are excessive, and force them to sell their Cattle, and Household-Goods, and do disable them from managing their Estates to the best advantage, and from helping and relieving their Farmers, and Peasants, and bring them often to Despair.

I do not question but this Article may find Opposition, and that many will hardly believe the Estates in *France* to be so much fallen, but they are at liberty to Judge what they think fit: 'Tis true, very few of the Owners are sincere enough to acknowledge the Degree of the Decay of their Estate, and they fancy 'tis a piece of Prudence not to do it, because it would not help them in the least, but rather tend to the ruine of their Credit; and that besides there being almost no Lands lett for want of Farmers, they cannot well tell what Revenue they yield them at present, but every one gets out of them all that he can to live on, without being able to say what they are worth. Most Lands are now managed by Servant-Maids, and some old lame Servant-Men, who do the best they are able. Moreover, there are several Lands and Houses Farmed, whose Possessors being ruined by the War, and Taxes,
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and the small price of Corn and Fruits, turn Bankrupt every day; I reckon that for lost. And tho' there were a sufficient number of People fit to be Farmers, yet as they see no prospect of an end to this War, and that the Kings Emiffaries are always upon the catch to take hold of all Money, where-ever they can discover it, they dare not take any thing in hand at this hard time; but chuse rather to be looked upon as worth nothing at all.

And further, tho' the Estates had not been really Decayed so much as to the Revenue, yet they must have Diminished as much in the real value; and that so much the more, that the great number of Women, who Cultivate at present much Land, and the small number of Men remaining, Decreases every day by death, without any hopes that their numbers should be filled up again by Generation, for want of Marriages; So that there will be a great want of People in that respect, some years hence; And altho' the Peace were made to day, *France* must continually Decrease in its numbers of People, till there be an equality between the number of Men and Women, and that by an Universal Change of the severity of the Government, they may be induced to marry, as formerly they did, and so Re-people the Kingdom by degrees.

So that I must be of Opinion, oppose it who will, that all the Lands and Personal-Estates in the Kingdom of *France*, do not at this day, yield
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in Revenues or Annual Profit, above the third part of what they did formerly, which amounts, it may be, to 130 Millions of Livers, or thereabouts, whereas they might bring in 30 years ago, about 400 Millions of Livers. I am confirmed in this opinion by the Estimation made of the Revenue of the Real and Personal-Estates in *England*, which I find to be 16 Millions Sterling *per annum*, or 200 and eight Millions of Livers, to which Estimation I adhere, tho' I am of opinion that at present the Revenue of the said Estates may amount to above 18 Millions Sterling, because the product is worth more now, than 'twas before the War, that diverse improvements have been made for these several years past, and that the Profit of Personal Estates increase likewise daily. Let us come now to the particulars of this Comparison.

There be, as I said, in the Kingdom of *France* 82 Millions of Acres, and in *England* about 30, at the same measure, that is to say, there is almost 3 times as much Ground in *France*, as in *England*, since *England* is in respect to *France*, but as 4 to 11.

Of those 82 Millions of Acres, which are in *France*, about 16 Millions must be deducted, as also about 6 Millions of the 30 in *England*, which in both Kingdoms consist in Lands, that may be called unprofitable, because they produce little or nothing, as Rivers, Heaths, High-Ways, Rocks, Sands, Downs, Banks
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of the Sea, Rivers, Morasses, and other such Barren Grounds.

Those 24 Millions of Acres are valued in *England* at 8 Millions Sterling, of yearly Revenue, that is to say, at 6 s. and 8 d. per Acre, one with another, by adding thereto the Lands, called *Unprofitable*, tho' they are not absolutely so.

I say, that 'tis not likely the Lands in *France* should have ever been worth so much, even when they were most valuable, as in *England* from the time that both Kingdoms were Peopled, and have driven any Sea-Trade in *Europe*, because Lands in *France* are generally more remote from the Sea than they are in *England*, and consequently their Foreign-Trade, and the exportation of their product is less, because the *English* Government is also Milder than that of *France*, and that the *Popish* Religion is extreamly contrary to the improvement of Lands, and the welfare of a Nation, as I shall demonstrate in its proper place. Besides, the Soil in *France* is generally less fruitful than in *England*, nor is it so plentiful in Pastures, which are the best of all Land-Estates. There be in *France* few Coal-Pits, no Tin, Copper, or Lead-Mines, whereas there are many in *England*, without mentioning that *England* has been always more populous than *France*, as I shall justify it, and as follows naturally from the Reasons which I have produced already, besides a great many others which shall find room in a more convenient place.

For

For those Reasons the Land-Estates must needs have always been more valuable generally in *England* than in *France*; and I verily believe they never exceeded in *France*, even in the time of their greatest Prosperity, the value of 16 Millions Sterling, of yearly Revenue. Had they been worth as much proportionably as those in *England*, where 30 Millions of Acres are valued, as I have said, at 8 Millions Sterling, of yearly Revenue, then the 82 Millions of Acres in *France*, should have been worth 22 Millions Sterling, of yearly Revenue.

According to that Estimation, the Revenues of all the Lands in *France* can never have exceeded, even in the best times, 16 Millions Sterling, or 208 Millions of Livers; and I am willing to suppose they might amount to that Sum 30 years ago, tho' I can hardly believe it. But because for many years, the Revenue of Lands hath been Decreasing, and especially since this War, I suppose it is not worth now above the third part of what it was worth 30 years ago, and dare say, that the said 82 Millions of Acres are not worth at present above 5 Millions and a half Sterling, or 72 Millions of Livers yearly, that is to say, about 1 s. 8 d. per Acre, one with another.

No body ought to be surprized at this Estimation, seeing in *Ireland*, where Land is generally better than in *France*, and nearer the Sea, where there is a free Trade, and which

which is almost as populous proportionably, as *France* is at this day, since 'tis probable there is not above the third part more People in *France*, proportionably to its bigness, than there are in *Ireland*, as I shall shew in its proper place; in *Ireland*, I say, the Acre of Land is not valued, one with another, a Shilling *per Annum*, although it abounds with Pasture Grounds, which are the most profitable of any, and the most easie to be managed.

We ought to make the same Judgment of the Revenue of Houses in *France* proportionably, *viz.* That it is also fallen two thirds, and that so much the more, because, tho' they be Uninhabited or fallen in their Rent, the repairs are the same, or greater than formerly; but let us grant, that their value holds the same proportion with the Houses in *England*, as do the Lands of both Kingdoms respectively.

I shall not value them in particular here, but shall joyn them to the Personal-Estates, in conjunction with which they are Judged to be worth 8 Millions Sterling of Revenue, or Annual Profit, in *England*, that is to say, as much as the Lands. They do not think for all they value them so, that the Personal-Estates with the Houses, are equal in worth to the value of Lands, as to the price of the Principal, but they do value their Profits at that rate, because the Interest of Personal-Estates is greater, than that of the real. In that manner, by keeping the same proportion which

we did in respect of the Lands of both Kingdoms ; I say, holding the same proportion between the Houses and Personal-Estates in *France*, and the Houses and Personal-Estates in *England*, these ought to be valued in *France*, at 5 Millions and a half, as well as Lands.

But it must be confessed, that tho' the Revenues of Houses should have decayed more than those of Lands, yet the Revenues of Personal-Estates ought to be more diminished ; and withal, that this sort of Goods was never worth near so much in *France*, as in *England*, which hath ever had, in that respect, a greater advantage over *France*, than it had in respect of the value of Lands.

So that I give a great allowance to *France*, when I value the Revenue of their Houses and Personal-Estates, at 4 Millions and an half Sterling. And indeed Personal-Estates, consisting in Cattle of all kinds, in Furniture of Houses, Silver Coined, and not Coined, Jewels, Merchandizes, Ships, &c. any Man may easily see, in running over all those Species, that they are much less than formerly, and that the Profits of them are also by consequence, much less.

For *First*, Cattle are much diminished ; there is none left in most places, they having been sold to pay Taxes, or Debts, and the Farms have been abandoned afterwards, and where there is any Cattle, there is far from being enough, and what they have is poor, weak,

weak, ill-fed, and ill-taken care of, for want of Servants ; and they are worth but little Money, because of the want of Eaters, and the want of Money too ; There are very few Horses left, the War having destroyed almost all of 'em, and the People being not able to bring them up, by Reason of their Poverty. 'Tis true, they are sold dear, but that is an aggravation of the People's Misery, seeing 'tis their Scarcity which is the cause of it, and that they cannot be wanted neither, and yet the people are not able to buy them ; For this Reason several Lands are left Untilled, viz. In all the Plain Provinces, where they want Hay for Oxen, and must needs make use of Horses, or Mules, who feed most upon Straw, and Oats. As to other Personal-Goods, it is easie to conceive, that 'tis yet worse : As for example, As to Furniture of Houses and Household-Goods, nobody is now curious in them, & what is worse, very few buy any New ones ; because there is such a quantity of Old, that they may be had almost for nothing : As for Money, every body knows there is little in the Kingdom, and consequently it brings no profit to them, who keep it, especially there being no Trade, and if it be lent to the King, or discovered by him any way, then 'tis lost.

There is but little Plate and Jewels left in the Kingdom, for none but Great Persons, such as Lords and Ladies, have any ; As or Mercantile Commodities there are very few Made or

Sold at present. The Store-houses are all empty; Manufactures, Trade and Arts are all decayed, and by Consequence the Ships bring no profit to their Owners neither; so that 'tis easie to conceive, that the Revenue of those Personal-Estates is yet more fallen than that of Lands; the Tillage and Product of which can much worfe be spared, than any thing else. So that all the Revenue of the Kingdom of *France*, both Real and Personal, is not now worth above 10 Millions Sterling, or 130 Millions of Livers, whereas it was probably worth near 30 Millions Sterling, or 400 Millions of Livers, 30 years ago, and so the Revenue of all Real and Personal-Estates of *France*, must be worth less at present, by 6 Millions Sterling, or 72 Millions of Livers, than the Revenues of the same Estates in *England*.

It must be observed by the way, that the Clergy of *France* possesses the half of the Estates in the Kingdom, that is to say, about 15 Millions Sterling, or 200 Millions of Livers, of Revenue formerly, and at present about the third part of that Sum, or 65 Millions of Livers.

I do not question but many People will be surprized at this Computation, whom I will endeavour to satisfy, but I desire leave, First, To answer some Objections, which may be made to some Points.

For example; Some may ask how I make As for e. Household-Goods, Silver Uncoined, it out that H. Jew-

Jewels, &c. produce any Revenue or Profit ; I answer, That the use which is made of them is accounted for as much Revenue, because either they bring some Advantage, or else are an Ornament to those who make use of them, as a stately House is instead of a great Revenue to the Proprietor, tho' he inhabits it himself, because, if he did lett it out to any other Persons, he would get a great Rent for it, and if he did sell it, it would yield him a great Sum of Money, which, laid out at Interest, or in Trade, would afford him great Profit: It is the same with the things in question, and with Merchandize, which are Judged to bring a good Revenue in the Store-Houses and in the Shop, because, when the time of Sale comes, the Owner has a greater Profit by them, than if he had lett out his Money at Ordinary Interest. If any Man ask further, why I have distinguished the Revenue of Lands from that of Houses, and Cattle, since Lands are not worth any thing without Houses and Cattle, it being impossible to cultivate them without those things ? I answer as to the first, that I include with the Lands, the Houses necessary for the Habitation of those who manage them, and for the harbouring of their Cattle; which cannot be lett a part, it being known that the Houses of Husband-men, Farmers and Gentlemen in the Country, make part of the Farms, and belong to them.

The Houses, or the Revenue of Houses,
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which I distinguished from those belonging to Lands, are the Houses of Cities, Towns and Borroughs, and generally all those which are lett out without Lands.

I distinguish also the Revenue of Lands from that of Cattle, because we see every day Lands lett to Farm, without Cattle, the Farmers themselves furnish Cattle, and pay so much the less to the Proprietor: For if so be the Farmer would not, or could not do it, it would be the Proprietor's part to do it, in which case the Farmer must give more for the Land and Cattle together, than they would have done for the Land alone. Certainly there are very few Persons who do not know this.

But to return to our Subject, I said, that many will be surprized to see that we value the Revenues of *France* so little, and that we prefer the present Revenues of *England* to them, tho' it be not much above the third part of *France* in extent; nay, and according to some, it is less than the third part of *France*, and does not exceed the Province of *Languedock* in Dimensions.

They will be amazed likewise to find that I value the Acre of Land at 1 s. 8 d. one with another, or about 22 *French* Sols, because they know some Lands elsewhere, that were worth 10, 20, or 30 times more. Others may object other things, or say, That I have a mind to flatter the *English* Nation; but I protest, I speak according to my own Conscience; every
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body knows, I have little Reason either to admire my Lot in *England*, or to flatter the Nation. But I answer further, That every one is free to think what he pleases concerning it; I do not pretend that all that I Advance is Mathematical Demonstrations, but only Probabilities extraordinary well grounded, and I dare say, That if they had examined things as narrowly as I have done, and had exercised themselves as much as I have exercised my self in that kind of Study, they would judge otherwise of the matter; but the truth is, few or none set their mind to those things, or use to consider them in this method, and we are naturally apt to oppose that which we do not understand, or which is against our prejudicate Opinions. So that I give leave to all such who are of that Disposition of Mind, to value the present Revenues of *France* as much, and the Revenues of *England* as little as they please.

I say further, That it must be very unreasonable to disown but that *France* is extraordinarily Depopulated, and that abundance of Lands and Houses have been forsaken, and that all the other Calamities which I mentioned, and are confirmed to us every week by several Letters, and even by Persons who come from those Parts, should be really true; certainly at this rate all things might be called in question. I think there can be no Dispute about the Desolation of *France*, but only

about the Degree of it. But if it be certain, as I advance, that the 2 thirds parts of Men fit for work, or at least the half, have perished in the War, or are dead for want of Necessaries, as it seems very unreasonable to deny it; that alone will prove more than I desire.

As to the Bigness and Extent of both Kingdoms, I confess I have not measured them, but they have been measured by others, and I believe them so much the rather, that I find upon the Maps, that it is very Rational, as well for the respective Quantity and Extent of both Kingdoms, as for the proportion which I supposed to be between them; and any Man, who hath but eyes, may measure upon the Geographical Maps, the Extent of both, and judge very near of the proportion of the one to the other.

As for what concerns the Estimate of the Acres in *France*, which I value at 1 s. 8 d. one with another at present, it is founded partly on the proportion which ought to be between the present and former value of the Estates in *France*, and partly upon the Common Estimation of the Acre of Land in *England*, which is of the same Measure with that in *France*, and by comparison, I conclude from the Reasons above produced, which prove that *England* ought to have ever been Richer, and more Populous, and Fruitful than *France*, and from all those which convince us that *France* is mightily Depopulated, and hath lost the two thirds

thirds of all her Men fit for work; I conclude, I say, from thence, that the Acres ought in general, to be near upon four times as much worth in *England* at present, as in *France*: It has been valued a long time ago at 6 s. 8 d. the Acre one with another. I confess there may be many places in *England* where it is not worth 2 s. nor perhaps one; but there are some also, where it is valued at 30 and 40 times more. In general, 'tis most valuable in all Countries near good Sea-Ports, or Head-Cities, or Navigable-Rivers; And my Estimation must needs appear reasonable to all those who will be pleased to remember what I said above, that the Acre in *Ireland* is not Farmed generally, one with another, at above 10 d. or 11 d. tho' the Acre is bigger there, than in *England*, and *Ireland* fruitfuller too, and nearer the Sea than *France*, and besides that, enjoys liberty of Trade, and pays almost no Taxes in comparison of what *France* pays.

But some may object again, and ask, How can your computation stand good as to the Revenues of *France*, since you said, That the *French* King alone did raise every year, even in the time of Peace, above 132 Millions of Livers upon his People, besides the Casual or Extrordinary Taxes, which did amount often to 30, 40, and 50 Millions of Livers more, and that the Officers of Judicature, and other Civil Officers, did get, one with another, every year at least 140 or 150 Millions of Livers from

from the People ; That the Farmers, general, and particular, and other Exactors of the Impositions might cost the Nation besides 70 or 80 Millions more. And that over and above all this, the Church-men alone did possess near 200 Millions of yearly Revenue ; without mentioning what they cheated the People of besides, and got cunningly by their Subtilties, and driving a Trade, of what they call Holy Things, which I judge, did amount to above 30 Millions of Livers more every year.

For answer to this, I say, first, That as the King's Revenues, so likewise the Revenues and Gains of all those sorts of People, just now named, did Circulate amongst all the Subjects, as is usual for the Revenues and Profits of all those who compose a Nation ; and that as the King raised Sums upon the Officers of Judicature, and other Civil Officers, as also upon the Clergy, and upon the Farmers, and Exactors of the Publick Impositions, by Ordinary and Extraordinary Taxes, and that they had so much the less clear Money by it, these People did also draw in to themselves the Money of those, amongst whom the King, in the course of his ordinary Expences, diffused his Revenues ; I say, they did draw it in according to their respective and usual Ways and Methods, either by Suits at Law, Exactions, or Masses, or in some other way. It was the same Money which did Pass and Repass by the Week, Quarter, or Half-Year, several times through
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the Hands of all those People; therefore it does not follow, that there were 5 or 600 Millions of Money in the Kingdom, tho' there was more in it than in most other Countries, neither did all this Money proceed from the Revenue of the Real and Personal-Estates; but chiefly from the Revenue and Profits of the industry of the Subjects.

For as to the King's Revenues, 'tis known that a great part of the Impositions in *France*, are not laid on the Real Estates, but consist in Excises upon all things generally which the People consume, as well for Diet and Cloathing, as for other Uses, and not upon the Real or Personal-Stocks only. The Revenues did consist also in Customs, or Taxes, upon all things Imported or Exported out of the Kingdom, Provinces, Cities and Towns, &c.

As for the Subjects of the Kingdom, the Profit of the People's industry diffused it self likewise amongst all People, by the same Method of Circulation.

It must be known also that the Profits of industry in a diligent Nation, and indifferently populous, does amount almost to twice as much, as all the Revenues of Real and Personal Estates.

I will make this Intelligible by a Familiar Example; We have often seen in *France*, and the same may be observed every where else, by considering Men; we have seen, I say, Lands Farmed at 3 or 400 Livers per *Annum*, pay as much

much to the King for the *Taille* and *Imposition* on Salt, and yet maintain both the Farmer's Family and Servants. It was not the Money which the Proprietor received of his Farm, and which is properly the Revenue of the Land, that payed the said Taxes, maintained all those Persons, and furnished them with all sorts of Necessaries, but their Labour. Here follows another Example.

They commonly value all the Corn spent in *England* at 10 Millions Sterling, one year with another, reckoning Wheat at 5 s. the Bushel, and Barly at 2 s. and other Grains proportionably, and yet the Revenue of all the Lands is valued only at 8 Millions Sterling; and the Cattle, and all other things consumed out of the Native Product are worth the double. Now if the Labour of them, who employ themselves only about Husbandry, makes such a product, how much more will the Labour of Mechanicks and Artists do it, and yet, the product of Manufactures and Mines is still greater, but the profits of those who are Employed by Sea, either in Fishing, Coasting, or a Forreign Trade is the greatest of all.

In a Populous and Trading Country, the Revenue of Lands, Industry, and Profit ought to be greater than in other Places, for these things hold a sympathy together; the one helps the other; for when Arts, Manufactures
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and Trade thrive, the Revenue of Real and Personal-Estates increafes, becaufe Money becomes more Common and Currant; the Countrey grows more and more Populous, and more Provisions, and other things neceffary to Mankind are fpent: And likewise when Eftates augment in Revenue, the Manufacturers, Artifts, Labourers, &c. are more Employed, and every one has more whereupon to Live, and the Country grows Richer and Richer.

To make Application of this to my Subject, and to continue in the Comparifon I made of the Real and Personal-Eftates, and of the Revenue of both the Kingdoms of *France* and *England*, I will adventure to fay, That the Profits of Induftry ever ought to have been greater in *England* than in *France*, by Reason of the *Proteftant Religion*, which encourages Induftry, and Trade more than *Popery*, which is destructive to them, as I fhall fhew; as alfo by Reason of the multitude of Mines, which we have mentioned already, the proximity of the Sea, the Forreign Trade, Fishery, of which the Profits are very great; and the Salary and Wages of thofe employed therein, being more confiderable, and their number much greater in *England*, than in *France*. For in Countries more remote from the Sea, as *France* is generally compar'd with *England*, there are not fo many Men of this fort whofe Labour and
Time

Time are so well rewarded, for generally speaking, those who work about building of Ships and all other things belonging to Shipping, either for Men of War or Trading-Ships, earn three or four times as much as Common-Labourers do; It must be considered that there are above a hundred different Trades that relate to Sea, whose Workmen get proportionably to the Profits made by Navigation, Sea-Trade, or Fishing. There are in *England* four Men of that kind to one in *France*; tho' *France* is, as I have said often, almost 3 times as big as *England*. This Article alone makes a great difference between the Profits of Industry in the two Kingdoms. For one cannot imagine the advantages which a Country near the Sea has over another that is far from it, if it were but for the Trade and carriage of heavy Materials, which are a notable part of the Trade, and without which none can be managed at all; as are Timber and Wood, for Work or for Fire, and Minerals, Stones, Chalk, Sand, Glasse, Bricks, Earthen Pots, wrought or unwrought Iron, Coals, Turfs, Butter, Cheese, Hemp, Flax, Wool, Salt, Wine, Beer, Syder, Corn, Tallow, &c. For the Profit and Time of those who are employed about carrying such things in a Country remote from Sea, comes almost to nothing, and yet the number of those, who either transport and carry them, or Trade with 'em, is prodigious, in such a large Country as *France*; whereas in *England* the

the Proximity of the Sea makes the Trade of all those things to be very Profitable and Easie, and the consumption of the same to be much greater, because they are cheaper, which is an encouragement to Propagation; and then there are not so many imployed about carrying them proportionably as in *France*, because of the facility of the carriage by Water, which causes those imployed in them to get the more for their Labour and Time.

As to Manufactures, tho' *France* had the advantage of *England*, in regard of several Manufactures, yet I dare say, that that of Wool alone in *England* did imploy more People proportionably, than did all those in *France*, except that of Linnen-Weavers, which is a work very unprofitable; and besides that, there are several other Manufactures also practised in *England*.

There's another thing that may also convince us, that the *English* People did in general get more Profit by their Industry, than the *French* proportionably; which is this, that in *London*, which is almost twice as Big and Populous as *Paris*, the Capital City of a Kingdom, 3 times as big, as I have said often, than *England* is; in *London*, I say, Trades-men, and almost all sorts of Workmen get in general, twice as much Wages as they do at *Paris*.

The same will be evident also, if we consider that in this Country, which ought to have been at all times richer than *France* proportionably

tionably to their respective bigness, the people pays ordinarily no Taxes or very small ones, and consequently the Sums which are unprofitably imployed in *France* about maintaining great Armies of Soldiers and Exactors; and many other such Caterpillers, as before mentioned, which are all idle and troublesome to the Working sort of People; those sums, I say, are spent in *England* upon things which proceed from Man's Industry, whether they be necessary, or only for Ornament or Delight; which causes the *English* Nation to spend more than any other Nation does therein, and consequently Industry must needs be more profitable there, than any where else; Not to mention here the greater number of Holydays which they have in *France*, as also a great number of People useles for work, of which I have spoke already, &c.

But notwithstanding all this, we must confess there was a considerable time when the *French* Nation got very much by its Industry, and by their Manufactures so much Desired of their Neighbours, and for that reason very noxious to *England* in particular; 'tis true, that time did not last above 40 or 50 years, neither did the said Manufactures take always at the same rate; during that time the *French* King did give Laws to his Neighbours, and made all Christian Europe (not the Mahometan) to tremble under him; till his Ambition has brought his Kingdom to that lamentable condition, where-

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in it is at present, and which grows every day worse and worse; During those 40 or 50 years, I do believe that the Revenue of the *French* Industry did go beyond the Revenue of the Real and Personal-Estates, and that if the last did amount to 400 Millions, the Profits of the Peoples Industry could be worth no less than 600 Millions of Livers. So that 'tis not so much to be wondred at, if the *French* King and the rest of the Blood-suckers we spoke of before, did raise the great Sums already mentioned in that Kingdom. At present, those Revenues and Profits of Industry, are at least as much Decreased, as those of their Real and Personal-Estates. For there are but few Working-men left, and no Work for them to do, unless it be about the Manuring of a little Lands, wherein there is not much to be got, since the Arts, Manufactures, and Trade have Decreased so much.

So that there is reason to admire how that People can still subsist, which I shall discover anon. But I must first shew, how we may come to the knowledge of the true Value of the Industry of a Nation.

To comprehend well the Effect and Profit of the Labour of a People, the Number of Souls who compose a Nation, the Revenue of all its Estates Real and Personal, and the Yearly Expense of the whole People must be known.

For example, we said that the Revenue of all the Estates Real and Personal in *England*, were worth 16 Millions Sterling, and 'tis commonly supposed there are 6 Millions of Souls in it. To make a due Computation of that People's Expense, a *Medium* must be found of the Expense of each Soul one with another. Then we must see to what the whole will amount, and what goes beyond the 16 Millions Sterling, will be the Revenue or Profit of the Industry and Labour of the Nation. I think no better Ru'e can be found for it, than that of the Expense of a Journey-man in the Country. Such a man's Salary is commonly 8 pence a day, if he maintains himself, or 4 pence if he be maintained; and so his Food amounts to 2 shillings *per week*, or 5 pound Sterling, and 4 shill. *per annum*. For Cloaths, Lodging, and the rest, no less can be reckoned than 36 shill. seeing the Wages of the poorest Servant-Maid in the Country, who gets no more than Food and Rayment, is no less, and She spends it for her Cloaths and Shoes; in all 7 pound; according to this, all the Expense of the People of *England* will amount to 42 Millions Sterling; So that the Profit of the Labour of the People, at this rate, will be 26 Millions Sterling, which is almost the double of the Revenue of the Real and Personal-Estates, which are valued only at 16 Millions Sterling.

Some perhaps will be astonished to see that
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we value at so small a rate the Yearly Expense of every Soul, viz. 7 pound Sterling, by reason that they see many, who, on their own Persons, spend 15, nay, 20 times more, and that the People of *England* does in particular spend much more than any People whatsoever. And I own, that I have had some thoughts to put a higher Estimate upon the Expenses of each person, one with another; but after, having well pondered and examined all things, I found it best to adhere to the Opinion of a very understanding Man, whom I follow upon that Subject, and indeed, whoever will consider how much the number of the Poor, their Wives and Children, does exceed that of the Rich, and that often one of those poor Journey-men maintains a great Family by his sole Labour, will judge that such a Journey-man's Expense may very well serve as a Rule and Standard for the Expense of a whole Nation taken in general.

Suppose then that the Proportion which we have laid down between the worth of the Real and Personal Estates of *France*, and those in *England*, be well grounded, and that *France* may be still worth 10 Millions Sterling, *per annum*, as *England* is worth 16 without Men's Labour; the same proportion may be also established, between the Profits of the Labour of both Nations; and as we reckoned the present Revenue of the Labour in *England* at 26 millions Sterling, we may also reckon,

according to the same proportion, the Profits of the Labour in *France* to 15 millions Sterling: And in that manner, all the Revenues of *France* at this day, should amount still to 25 millions Sterling, that is, as well the Profit of their Labour, as the Revenues of Real and Personal-Estates. I profess, I do not believe their Labour rises so high at this day; and I dare venture to say, 'tis impossible they should, because above two thirds of the Labouring Men are either Dead, or in the Army; and I am of Opinion, that in strictness it cannot amount to 10 Millions Sterling, but I am willing rather to allow them more than less.

According to these Positions, the remaining People in *France*, who are in number, as we supposed, about 9 Millions of Souls, could not spend above 30 Livers *per annum*, or thereabouts, one with another, that is to say, not so much as two pence every day.

If the Reader has been surprized, that I did compute the *English* People's Expense to be only 4 pence every day, one with another, they will perhaps be much more surprized, that I value that of the *French* People no more than 2 pence for every working day, or 52 shill. *per annum*, upon which they must spare where-withall to maintain themselves; for more than a hundred days in the year, *viz.* Sundays and all their Holy-days, whereas the *English-Man* may work when he pleases, except Sundays, and a very few other Holy-days.

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And yet I protest again in sincerity, that I do not think the Profit of their Labour goes so far, nor that it exceeds, as I have said already, 10 Millions Sterling, at present; but I was willing to indulge them rather than otherwise, and so I leave them still at two pence a day.

'Tis the utmost we can put upon the value of the *French* People's Industry at this day, for a great many Reasons which I shall reduce to some Heads. 1. The Value of Lands and People's Work, could never be so high in *France*, as in *England*, nor their Expenses by good consequence, for the Reasons above-mentioned; the Proximity of the Sea; the Great Trade; the Mildness of the *English* Government; the Protestant Religion, &c. And that the People of *England* spent always much more than those of *France*. 2. The Fruits or Profits of the Labour of People could never be so great in *France* as in *England*, as I proved before. 3. Above the two thirds of the Working-Men in *France* have perished one way or other, as I said before, and must often repeat it, and the excess of Misery, under which that People groans, cannot be expressed. 4. There is no Trade within or without the Kingdom; Arts and Manufactures are all decayed, and a great part of the People are turned Beggars, &c.

But because it seems to be impossible that the *French* People should Live and Subsist at so little Expense, I must Discover how they do it; 'tis by consuming their Stock, perhaps to the

value of above 4 or 500 Millions every Year, without reckoning the great and general Decay in all the Stocks and Revenues, caused by the Depopulation, which puts the Kingdom to the loss of more than 2000 Millions yearly, during this War, as I could easily demonstrate.

'Tis not so much by selling away Lands, Houses and Offices, that the People devours these 4 or 500 Millions of their Stock (tho' they may perhaps sell some for the 10th or 12th part of their former value) as 'tis by selling away their Household-Goods, Cattle, and Timber-Wood, their Plate and Jewels when there is any, or lending to those who will never pay, or by borrowing, giving or taking to trust, either their Money or Commodities, Labour or Time; by not paying their old Debts, which is a general Disease in all the Kingdom, and makes up a dreadful Article; or by selling and quitting their actual Debts for much less than they were worth formerly, and such other usual Ways, by which they waste their Stock more and more; and yet for all this a great many dye of Hunger every day.

To comprehend this matter the better, let us suppose a Man who had 30 years ago 100 pound of Revenue, and pays now the Taxes upon the Foot of the Ancient Revenue of his Land, and not upon the Foot of the present; for the Court Taxes all the Subjects now according to the Ancient Estimate; that Man's Lands being fallen two thirds of their former Revenue,

Revenue, if he pays only 30 pounds to the King Yearly, which would be look'd upon, now a days, as a great moderation ; there is nothing left for him of his Revenue ; if he pays 50 or 100 *l.* as 'tis usual now, for they are Taxed in that proportion, and worse sometimes, how can he pay that Tax, which is three times more than his Rent. and live without wasting the Stock ? If, as I said before, all the Estates, Real and Personal in the Kingdom are worth but 130 Millions of Livers ; and that the King alone raises 200 which comes into his Coffers free, without that which is necessary to enrich the Farmers of Impositions, and to maintain 30 or 40 thousand Men under them, at the People's Charges, called *Gabeliers*, and *Rats de Cave*, &c. and besides to maintain the Officers of Judicature, and innumerable other Civil Officers, as I said before, without mentioning the Clergy, who, by their Subtilty and Craft, do always Cheat and Plunder the People ; If, I say, this be the State of affairs in *France*, we are obliged to believe that as the King, and all those Ravenous Birds devour the Kingdom, every one is also forced to live upon the Quick, and devour his own Stock, and that so much the more, that the Clergy alone possess, as I have said, the half of the Real and Personal-Estates, and do not contribute to the King proportionably as the other Subjects do, and therefore their Stock does not Decay so much, because they are not obliged to Devour it, by

son that they can live very plentifully on their Rents, especially considering that they may retrench the great numbers of their Monks and Priests, without any inconveniency.

I did above mention the Common Taxes, which swallow up the whole Revenue of the People and more. What will it be then, when the King forces People, as he does continually, to lend him Money, or to purchase his new Offices and Titles, or to take Augmentation of Wages, if Officers, or to give an Account of the Administration of some Employments, or Functions; or when a Man, or his Father or Grand-Father, or any other to whom he may have some Relation, is Accused, and perhaps without any proofs, of having robbed the King or the People, and thereupon is condemned to pay the King the greatest part of all that he has? A hundred such Methods are practised every day to the Ruine of the most Opulent Subjects all of a sudden.

It cannot be denied that this is the Condition of *France* at this day, and that there are but very few, who do not consume their Stock, except those who never had any thing, and who help the King to destroy all.

I confess, that as the *French* People live in the Country, those poor Souls do not spend a penny a day in Food, one with another. The Country-People in *Ireland* feed much better than those of *France*; the *Irish* eat their belly full of meat, when they please; nor don't want Butter,

Butter, Cheese, Bread, Potatos; and in many places they have abundance of Salt and Fresh-Water-Fish, Oysters, Musles, Crabs, Langosts and Cockles; for, tho' they are very lazy, the Land is plentiful in all those things, and then they pay almost no Taxes; and besides, they smoak Tobacco Men, Women and Children; and notwithstanding all this, Men of understanding, who know that Nation perfectly, and have Written concerning it, assure us, That they do not spend a penny a day, one with another, for their Dyet. They own indeed, that wearing commonly good Cloaths, they may spend, one with another, including their Rayment, about 2 pence *per Diem*, or 52 *shill. per Annum*; whereas the Country-People in *France* spends very little in Cloaths, at least two thirds less than the People in *Ireland*.

Those who are acquainted with the Condition of *France* know, that most part of the Country-people did feed only upon Black-Bread before the War, neither had they their Belly full of that; and the best of their other cheer was some Fruits, Herbs and Roots, with sower Milk, without any Butter or Fat, unless some stinking Oyl of Walnut, or Rape-Seed, except it may be, in those places where Olive-Trees are plentiful; they sold their Butter to pay the Taille, and drank nothing but meer Water, or Water which had past over the drained Grapes, or Apples, when the Wine and Syder had been pressed out of them; their chiefeft
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and almost only Food, was Black-Bread, or Rye-Bread baked with all the Bran, commonly very bad, that does not cost a Half-penny *per Pound*, of which the Women and Children cannot eat three quarters of a pound a day, one with another, nor Men, who are at present in small numbers, double that quantity. As for their Cloaths, Men, Women and Children are generally cloathed with course Linnen, such as they make Sacks of, and wear Wooden-Shoes; and even many of 'em are bare-footed.

If any Man ask, why the 9 Millions of Souls, which we suppose to be in *France*, should not earn as much as the 6 millions of Souls supposed to be in *England*, since the *French* work as much and as well as the *English*, and since there ought to be as many Working-Men amongst the 9 Millions of *French*, as amongst the 6 Millions of *English*. I answer, besides the reasons I already produced, That more Money is to be got in a rich Place than in a poor One, in a populous Country, than in a depopulated One, in a Land abounding with Mines, and addicted to Manufactures, Fishery and Navigation, where there is plenty of Money, than in another which enjoys not those Advantages, and where the Government is Arbitrary, Besides, no body will deny but there is more gotten and spent in *England*, than *Ireland*, at *London* than in *Wales*, and at *Paris* than in *Bearn*

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Nor is it true, that there are as many men fit for Work amongst the 9 Millions of People in *France*, as there are amongst the 6 Millions in *England*, because, as I have said often above, two thirds of the Men fit for Work in *France*, are perished, and of the remaining part one half is unprofitable for Work, and that those who are unprofitable for Work, are three times more in number in *France* proportionably than they are in *England*.

So that whereas *England* maintains the present War with less than 5 Millions Sterling Yearly, which does not make the third part of the Real and Personal-Estates of all the Kingdom, leaving the Profits of the Labour of the People untouched, which are almost double to the Revenue of all the said Estates. In a word, while *England* employs not above the 8th part of all its Revenues towards the War, the *French* King raising one way or other, about 200 Millions of Livers Yearly, upon his People since this War, draws from them above 70 Millions of Livers beyond the Revenue of all the Real and Personal-Estates of his Kingdom, since they are worth but 130 Millions, according to our Calculation. Upon which it is to be observed, that the Clergy, being in possession of half of those Estates in the Kingdom, whose Revenue consequently ought to amount yet to 65 Millions of Livers, the Clergy, I say, does not pay one Year with another 10 Millions of those 200 which the King raises

raises, from whence it plainly appears, that the rest of the Nation is beyond comparison, much more oppressed than they are, and so much the more, that the Clergy is not so much vexed by the other Blood-suckers of the Nation, as the rest of the Subjects are, and that they are themselves of the number of the Leeches, which devour the Substance of the Nation, and by that means they enjoy yet above 55 Millions of Livers free, besides the Profits and Gains they make upon the People, by the Trade they drive of *Holy Things*, as they call them, and by a hundred cunning Tricks of their Art, which makes their Revenue of Profits, to amount to above 70 Millions of Livers yet. So that there are still 70 Millions of Livers to be found for the King, as we have seen just now, above the 130 Millions, which are the Value of the Revenue of all the Estates in the Kingdom. For he must needs have no less than 200 Millions of Livers to maintain the War Yearly. If you ask, where we shall find them? I answer, Those 70 Millions of Livers must needs be raised upon the Profit of Men's Labour, which we supposed might amount to 200 Millions of Livers Yearly, and then the remainder will be only 130 Millions.

But then we must also deduce from those 130 Millions of the Profits of Industry the 55 Millions which we said the Clergy enjoyed (besides what they gain by their cunning Tricks) out of the half of all the Revenues
Real

Real and Personal of the Kingdom, which we gave to the King in the former Paragraphs; for the Clergy cannot be deprived of such vast Revenues, seeing Cardinal *Palavicini* affirms, that our Saviour's chief intent in his coming into the World, has been to render the Clergy rich and happy according to the flesh, *felice secondo la Carne*. So that those 55 Millions must, as I said, be taken upon the said remaining 130 Millions coming from the Revenues of the Labour of the Nation.

So that the King and the Clergy having had their due share of all, there remains no more than 75 Millions of Livers for the subsistence of all the rest of the Nation, which may make about 8 Millions and 6 or 700 thousand Souls; for I think that the Clergy with the Monks and Nuns, and their Servants or Bastards, may very well make up between 3 and 4 hundred thousand Souls, which with the 8 Millions, 6 or 7 hundred thousand Souls before, will make in all, the nine Millions of Souls which we supposed to be still remaining in the Kingdom of *France*.

If it be so then, that no more remains than 75 Millions of Livers for the subsistence of the rest of the Nation, what shall we do with all the Officers of Judicature, Finances and Government, and so many others of a new Impression? what shall we do with the Farmers general and particular of the Imposts, with all their Crew? for all those men have been deprived

prived as abovesaid, of all their Possessions and Revenues, the King has swallowed up all by his 200 Millions which he must raise for his Armies. Where shall we find wherewithall to furnish the usual Covetousness, and authorized Cheats of the Clergy, who, as we said before, are still plundering and pillaging the Nation by their False and Counterfeit Devotions, and Robbing the People, tho' never so miserable, of 15 Millions of Livers at least *per Annum*. But let us leave this last Article concerning their Robberies for the 10 Millions which I said above the Clergy may pay now to the King during the War every Year.

We have still all the Officers of Judicature, and the rest named in the foregoing Paragraph, to maintain. We cannot allow them less than the said 75 Millions of Livers which remain of the Profits of the National Industry, and their share will be very small too; for 'tis probable they did altogether draw above 200 Millions yearly from the Substance of the People, besides their Patrimonial Goods, which are included in the Kings 200 *millions per annum*.

In that manner, there remains nothing for all the rest of the Nation; for all the Nobility, Peasants, Mechanicks, Artists, Manufacturers, Merchants, Sea-men, and all other Orders of People.

Moreover, besides all this, the Debts of the Kingdom are unpaid, I mean, the Debts of all the Subjects one to another.

I said already, that the Revenue of all the Estates, both Real and Personal in the condition which the Kingdom stands in, would not be able to pay the Interest of the said Debts, nor is the Value of all the Stocks able to pay the Principal. Let us suppose that the Interest of them goes not beyond 130 Millions of Livers, which is the Estimation we made of the present Revenue of all Estates whatsoever. That's already 130 Millions of the Stock of the Kingdom spent every year, without reckoning any thing for Interest upon Interest.

But how shall we find wherewithal to maintain all the rest of the Nation? 'tis plain, it cannot be done but by the Consumption of all their Stocks, as I said before, which Consumption cannot be under 3 or 4 hundred Millions *per Annum*, besides the Interest of Debts, of which I spoke just now. I have mentioned the Ways also, by which that Consumption is made, and therefore I will not repeat them here; tho' I am obliged too often to do it, because very few will comprehend the meaning of my first Principles upon the first hint;

If any should ask, what share I judge the Nobility might have in the 4 hundred Millions of Livers of Revenue, to which I supposed, all the Estates Real and Personal might have amounted thirty Years ago, or in the 130 millions to which we reduce it at present.

I answer, that I do not think the Nobility ever had above the 13th part of the whole, that is to say, about 30 Millions of Livers, formerly, and not above 10 at this day.

For we must always remember that the Clergy possesses half of the whole; and I think the *Third Estate* (which comprehends all those who are neither of the Nobility, nor of the Clergy) possesses 5 times as much Revenue as all the Nobility: All which I submit to the Judgment of Understanding Men.

This Chapter may appear to be very full of difficulty to those who are not accustomed to such Speculations and Computations; therefore I desire them to read it over twice, that they may understand it better; perhaps they will not lose their pains, if they do it. The next Chapter will be more easie and diverting, and may help much to confirm what I have said in this, in relation to the Value of the Real and Personal-Estates, and of the Profits of Industry in both Kingdoms.

CHAP.

C H A P II.

That **ENGLAND** is, and ought to be more Populous, proportionably to its bigness, than **FRANCE** was, even before the War.

I Have undertaken to prove that *England* is more Populous proportionably to its bigness, than *France* was, even before the War; I will not say, that *England* is more Populous than *France* is at present, for no body, I believe, questions that, or if they do, I could prove it by one sole Argument, which is this, That the City of *London*, the Capital City of *England*, is much Bigger, and more Populous than *Paris*, the Capital City of *France*, tho' *England* contains but 30 Millions of Acres, whereas *France* contains 82 Millions, according to *Sir Will. Petty*; And moreover, *England* has near as many other good Towns as *France* has proportionably to their respective bignesses; for, as I have already said, *England* compared to *France*, is but as four to eleven. Some may perhaps judge at first, that this consequence is not pregnant and indeed I confess the thing wants explanation. Therefore to comprehend it the better, we will suppose the Kingdom of *France* to be divided into 11 Parts, or Provinces of an
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equal bigness, and that *England* is no bigger than 4 of those Parts united together, and according to that proportion, *London*, which must be in one of those four supposed Provinces of *England*, and is the Head-City of the Kingdom, ought not to be much bigger than the third part of the Head-City of the Kingdom of *France*, viz. *Paris*, so that the two other third parts of *London* should remain to be divided among the three other supposed Provinces in *England*.

Any one may easily conceive upon this supposition, that those four Provinces of *England* must be proportionably more populous than the eleven of *France*, since we can make out of those two superfluous third parts of *London* several large Cities which will render those Provinces so much the more populous, that they must needs have as much more People in the Country, to supply them with all sorts of Victuals and other necessary things, as there shall be in the said new Cities, beyond the number of People which there may be already in the said Provinces.

But to form a more particular and distinct Idea of the bigness of those two great Capital Cities, and of the number of their respective People, upon which our proof is grounded, we must understand the number of Houses and Inhabitants of both places, as near as can be.

There were at *Paris*, 10 or 11 years ago,

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according to the Relation of Master Azout, one of the French King's famousst Mathematicians, 23255 Houses, which did contain, as he affirmed, 80 thousand Families, viz. three Families and a half of 6 Persons each in one House with another, comprehending in that number the *Hotels*, or Noblemens great Houses, but excepting out of it 38 Colledges, which 23255 Houses, as he pretended, did contain in all 488--055 Souls.

Those who come from that City every day, and such as were born there, confess that very few Houses have been built lately upon new Foundations, but only that some small ones have been pull'd down in pitiful narrow Streets, to rebuild them Larger and more Commodious, which does not increas, but rather diminishes the number of the Houses; and they all agree, that there is a third part less people in *Paris* than there was 10 or 11 years ago! But I shall notwithstanding allow Mr. Azout's number.

As for London, the Rolls of the Chimney-Money, left by the Collectors, tell us, there was 10 or 11 years ago, 105 thousand Houses, since which time, at least 15 thousand have been built in places where never any old Foundation stood, besides the augmentation made every day to many old Houses, which are rebuilt higher, & more commodious than they were before, besides above 11 thousand Cellars inhabited. I grant there are several Houses

empty, but then I shall agree that those Cellars should not be reckoned, that so we may fill the 120 thousand Houses.

Then supposing that there are 7 Souls in each House, one with another, either in one Family, or in two, it will amount to 840 thousand Souls. I do not think any Man can fairly refuse to admit 7 Souls in all the Houses of *London*, one with another, since we condescend to admit 20 in those of *Paris*, viz. three times as many; and that we do also lay aside the inhabited Cellars of *London*, to supply the vacancy of the empty Houses; without deducting or abating them that might be also empty at *Paris*, when Mr. *Azout* did write, of which he takes no notice, and also without mentioning the multitude of Men, who are at all times lodged upon Ships in the River at *London*; and if I were of a contradicting humour, I could justifie from reason, and matter of fact, that there never was 14 Souls in every House of *Paris*, one with another; nay, perhaps not 12. For, I believe I have studied *Paris* in relation to this Point, as long and as exactly as any person whatever. I will make bold to say here, notwithstanding the respect due to so great and ingenious a Man as Sir *William Petty*, that he did mistake in that Point, making *London* less populous, and *Paris* more populous than they really were; tho' I must confess, that I believe he did it out of modesty.

Then

Then if *London* did contain no more People proportionably than *Paris* the Head-City of a Kingdom near 3 times as big, there ought not to be above 180 thousand Souls in it; so that the Overplus, viz. 660 thousand Souls, should remain to be divided among the three other Provinces of the 4 supposed to be in *England*. Let us divide those 660 thousand Souls in three parts, and make three other Cities for the three other Provinces, to be the Head-Cities there, as *London* is in the fourth, they will be such Cities for multitude of people, as the like will hardly be found in *Germany*, *Italy*, *Spain*, and the *Low-Countries*. Or if that be not so well, let us divide them in 13 Cities of above 50 thousand Souls apiece, it will make four great Cities for every one of the three Provinces, and one besides for the fourth Province, of which we suppose *London* to be the Head-City: All those Cities added to those that are already in the Kingdom, would make it appear extraordinarily populous. So that by this, any one may easily judge, that *England* is more populous than *France* was thirty years ago, or rather, than it ever was. For, to conclude, those 13 Cities of 50 thousand Souls apiece, should contain perhaps as much people (if you consult judicious Men about it, and not the Rabble, who are impertinent Judges in those Matters) than did ever the 13 largest Cities in *France*, *Paris* excepted.

It must be considered further, as I intimated

before, that there must needs be added near as many Souls in Farmers and other Country-people, to supply those new Cities with all sorts of Victuals and Provisions, beyond the number of people in the said 13 Cities, besides that which is already in the 3 supposed Provinces distinguished from the 4th, in which *London* stands. Since it is certain, there needs almost as much people in the Country, to provide and carry all Necessaries to a great City, as there is of People in the said City. So that I leave it to any Man to judge how populous those Provinces would be. I confess that the adjacent parts to *London* would become so much the less populous; but however, they would be still as populous as are commonly the adjacent parts of the Head-Cities in other Countries, whose bigness & populousness holds more proportion to the other parts of the Nation than *London* doth; for it must be granted that *London* is a Monster amongst Cities; and that it holds no proportion to the rest of *England*, the Head being three times too big for the Body.

The thing may perhaps be more easily comprehended another way, which may possibly be more intelligible to many. I affirm there are as many People in *London*, according to the former Computation, as there were thirty years ago in all the Cities and Towns of the four biggest Provinces of *France*, which are, *Languedock*, with the *Cevennes*, *Vivarez* and *Velay*;

Felds, which do belong to that Province, *Brittain*, *Normandy* and *Champagne*, which may all together, with the addition of two or three Millions of Acres contain near as much ground as *England*, reckoning 160 Towns great and small in the said four Provinces, 40 for every one of them, one with another.

I allow 60 thousand Souls to every one of their Chief Cities, one with another, which is 240000.

I know there might be more in *Thoulouze* and *Roüen*, two of the said four Cities, but it may be on the other hand there was not half of that number in the two other Capital Cities. But if any man notwithstanding this, should fancy that I allow to those Cities too few People, he may be pleased to consider, that in *Dublin* which is bigger than *Roüen*, there is but 7 thousand Houses, and not above 5 thousand at *Bristol*, which is a Town considerable for its bigness.

I allow to 4 other Cities 30 thousand Souls apiece. Which is 120000

To 8 others	14 thousand	116000
To 12 others	8 thousand	96000
To 16 others	6 thousand	96000
To 20 others	3 thousand	60000
To 30 others	2 thousand	60000

As for the rest, who bear the name of Towns, tho' they deserve hardly that of Bo-

roughs, to the number of above 60, I allow
a thousand Souls apiece. 60000.

In all 8—40000.

The City of *London* alone consumeth more
Provisions and Commodities of all sorts, than
do all the said 160 Towns, even tho' we
dd *Paris* to them.

I grant indeed, if there were no other Ci-
ties and Towns in *England*, the Reasons pro-
posed might be confuted, by saying, that 'tis
no wonder *London* should be so populous, there
being no other Towns in *England*; but I make
bold to say, it were not hard to find in *Eng-
land* 160 other Towns as good, one with ano-
ther, as the 160 supposed to be in the afore-
said 4 Provinces of *France*. And it were an
easie matter to find 30 among the rest, who
would be better perhaps one with another,
than 30 of the best in the said Provinces of
France. As for example, *Bristol*, *Newcastle*,
York, *Normich*, *Plymouth*, *Exeter*, *Chester*, *Col-
chester*, *Hull*, *Scarborough*, *Halifax*, *Taunton*, *Yar-
mouth*, *Portsmouth*, *Dorchester*, *Winchester*, *Wor-
cester*, *Leicester*, *Gloucester*, *Shrewsbury*, *Here-
ford*, *Salisbury*, *Coventry*, *Birmigham*, *Oxford*,
Cambridge, *Peterborough*, *Lincoln*, *Canterbury*, *Not-
tingham*, *Litchfield*, *Rocheſter*, *Reding*, *Ypswich*,
Durham, *Derby*, *Carlisle*, *Northampton*, *Dart-
mouth*, *Lyn*, *Leeds*, *Liverpooke*, *Barnſtable*, *White-
Haven*, *Bediford*; and ſeveral others which are
bigger

bigger than some of them have I named, perhaps above 200, of which the left contains above a thousand Souls apiece.

It is to be considered, that there are in *England* 641 Market-Towns, which are commonly good Towns. I question very much whether there be so many in the two Third-parts of the Kingdom of *France*; and 'tis certain, the English Market-Towns are commonly better than those of *France*.

The reason why Foreigners travelling in *England*, and even English-men themselves, do judge *England* not to be so populous, nor so Rich as *France*, is, first that they think a comparison may be reasonably made betwixt *Paris* and *London*, and that there is an equality between them, and then after that they observe there are several other great Towns in *France*, and do not think that there are any in *England* which seem to deserve that name.

They do not take notice, as they should, of the prodigious Bigness of *London*, which they don't think so big as it really is, because they don't know the half of it, even not after several months residence in it, because it is not so compact as *Paris*, and some other great Towns, but extraordinarily and irregularly extended; and because People commonly neglect to visit several great parts of it, where they judge nothing deserves to be seen, by reason that there is seldom any of the Nobility, great Lawyers, or rich Merchants, that live in those parts, but only

only a great multitude of the vulgar sort, who live in Lanes, Allies, and Courts, without number, where the ways are very hard to be found, and unknown, even to a great many of the Inhabitants of London.

They do not take notice also of the Cellars, where great numbers of People dwell.

They do not know, or at least do not consider, that there is a prodigious number of Manufactures of all sorts, in a much greater number than at *Paris*, which employ a vast multitude of People at home on the working days, without mentioning the great number of those who are continually aboard the Ships in the River, or upon the Keys.

Another Errour which they commit in the comparison of *Paris* with *London*, is this, that they do not distinguish the River of *Seine*, which runs thro' the very middle of *Paris*, and which in several places is divided in two Branches or Heads, and contains a very great space of ground; they do not, I say, distinguish that River from the body of the City, as if the space which it takes up, was a Continent of Houses and Streets, and they do so, because there are many Bridges upon that River in the middle of the City, amongst which several are covered with Houses, so that People pass every day over those Bridges, without taking any notice that they are Bridges; whereas in the Estimate they make of the Bigness of *London*, they never fail to distinguish

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the *Thames* from *London*; whereas, if they did comprehend it with *London*, as they do the *Seine* with *Paris*, they should find in the River *Thames* alone, a greater space of ground than that which *Paris* takes up with its River, viz from *Lambeth* to *Blackwall*. But they may perhaps say, that there are more Squares in *London* than *Paris*, and that the River *Seine* ought to go for those Squares. I answer, that the River *Seine* takes up ten times more space than the said Squares do. Besides, there are so many Convents and Monasteries at *Paris* with vast Inclosures, and several other Inclosures besides which are not built up, as also several Palaces, Hotels and great Houses, with greater Gardens and Inclosures than we have at *London*, except *St. James's Park*, which they do also distinguish from *London* in their estimate of its Bigness, whereas they comprehend all the said Inclosures within *Paris*, when they compare it to *London*, and notwithstanding all this, even allowing them the Liberty to comprehend all those things within *Paris*, and not to comprehend the *Thames*, and the said Squares, and *St. James's Park* within *London*, I say, granting them this, I believe still that *London* takes up more ground than *Paris* by half.

Nor do they mind, when they compare the multitude of People in *England* with that of *France*, that *England* is but a little more in Extent than the Third part of *France*, tho' at

other

other times, when comparing both the Kingdoms one with another, they make *England* lesser than 'tis; which are mistakes very ordinary to Mankind.

But that which contributes most to confirm them in their Opinion to the disadvantage of *England*, is, that when they are travelling in *England*, they do not meet, as I observed already, with such a great number of large Cities, as they do, when travelling in *France*. The reason of which is very plain, or rather several reasons may be alledged for it. First, The City of *London* is too big, as I said already, for the rest of the Kingdom, and draws in the People of the Country to it, more than any Head City of any other Nation known to us, and will continue to do so more and more. Secondly, The other most considerable Towns in *England*, are for the most part situated near the Sea, whither few Travellers go; whereas in *France* they are almost all of them placed in the Inland Countries, and upon the great Roads. So that 'tis no wonder, if Travellers do not meet with so many great Towns in *England*, and even find sometimes a kind of Wilderness, since 'tis chiefly the Sea-Coasts which are well peopled, and where the good Towns lye.

There's one thing further to be considered, viz. That Travellers in *France* do propose commonly to themselves nothing else, but to take their Pleasure, and learn the Tongue, with

with some bodily Exercises which are not very necessary, and don't apply their Minds to learn the condition of the Provinces of that Kingdom, & so for the most part they travel only thro' the pleasantest, most populous and luxurious parts of *France*, where Victuals and Fruits are most Delicate, and other pleasures most Exquisite: They see *Paris*, *Rouen*, *Orleans*, with all the other Places upon the River *Loire*, *Angers*, *Lion*, *Marseille*, *Montpellier*, *Nismes*, *Toulouse*, *Bordeaux*, *Poitiers*, and some *Rockelle*, but very few travel through the Provinces of *Brittain*, *Mainne*, *Perche*, *Vendomois*, where they might find great Wildernesses, and in many Parts few People. They travel seldom thro' the Provinces of *Berry*, *Bourbonnois*, *Auvergne*, *Cevennes*, *Dauphiné*, *Provence*, *Nivernois*, *Limoxin*, *Quercy*, *Bearn*, and several other considerable Parts of the Kingdom, where few great Towns are to be found; So that Foreigners see only the most populous Parts of *France*, and not the other Parts, quite contrary to them who travel thro' *England*, who see the less populous parts, and do not see the other.

This reason will also furnish us with another, viz. That Strangers take notice of, and love Towns, according to the pleasure they enjoyed in them. Now 'tis known, that *London* is the only place in *England*, where Men of Pleasure or Curiosity find their Delights. There is little or no Gallantry in the other Towns; few great and handsome Buildings, or fine Walks;

Walks ; few Nobility and Gentry ; few Plays, as *Opera's*, *Comedies*, &c. no Tennis-Courts almost, or other Games, as Pall-Mall, Billiard, &c. no Musick, or acceptable Societies of Learned Men, the two Universities excepted, few or no extraordinary Cooks, where one may find good treatment. The Streets of the Towns are narrow, ill paved, and worse clean'd, and for those reasons, *England* in general, *London* and the two Universities excepted, is lookt upon as uncultivated by travelling Men, who love pleasure, neatness and delicacy ; whereas they may find in *France* above 30 Towns as pleasant and diverting as *Paris* it self, where People understand themselves as well. They had ten *Parliament Cities*, about twenty *Universities*, as many *Generalities*, or Offices of Treasurers in *France*, a great number of considerable Towns with notable Courts of Justice, called *Presidials* ; and Foreigners take much notice of all those things, which helps to render that Country acceptable & delightful & makes it appear rich and populous to them. They find in all those places excellent Cooks or Ordinaries at reasonable rates, delicate Wines & Fruits, Comedies and Plays of all sorts, fine Walks, and Courts of Governours, Intendants, &c. a multitude of Noted Men in the Offices of Judicature, Finances, and Civil Government, who make a great show in their Towns with a small Revenue well managed ; curious and well-bred People, learned Men, others curi-

ous in their pleasures, and fit for any Society : There they have also Civil and Ingenious Gentlemen, free in their Conversation, yet honest for the most part; they also see several fair Buildings, as well Private as Publick, such as Gentlemens Houses, Churches and Convents, and at some distance from the Towns, there are frequently several stately Houses with handfom Gardens belonging to the chief Families of the Towns. All those things charm Foreigners, and did mightily conduce to the drawing in of Strangers to that Country, and to enrich it by that means. It had also this effect, that Strangers took it to be more populous and rich than really it was; and I confess that it was indeed full of People, but not so populous as it ought to have been, nor yet so populous as *England*, proportionably to their respective Extents. As for Politeness, and Refinedness in many things, I confess *France* did go beyond *England*, but that is not the thing in Question. We may indeed say in that respect, that there were many Courts and Capital Cities in *France*, and but one in *England*.

It seems likewise that there are not so many Houses in the Country in *England*, out of the Towns and Borroughs, as are in *France*. First, Because of the Reasons above-mentioned, viz. That good Towns are in general towards the Sea-Coasts, and that People chuse rather to live thereabouts than in the midst of the Land. And,

Secondly,

Secondly, Because the adjacent Parts of *London* as well as the City it self, contributes very much towards the depopulating of the Country. Thirdly, It must be considered, that People apply themselves commonly more in *England* to the breeding of Cattle, than they do in *France*, and that a Farm in *England* takes up a greater extent of Land by reason of their Cattle, which are very numerous, and go of themselves a great way to the appointed Pasture without a Herd, because they are free from Wolves; and in such a Farm there is commonly a greater number of People proportionably than in the Farms in *France*, where they are lesser for the most part, and more frequent. The *French* Plow more, and have Vineyards; which require a greater number of small Houses dispersed to and fro. But the Boroughs and Villages are commonly larger, more lively and populous in *England* than in *France*, not only because of the greater fruitfulness of the Soil, and the lenity of the Government, but also because the Cattle maintaineth a great number of Manufactures, by their Wooll, Hides, Horns, Tallow, Butter, Cheese, &c. and that abundance of Farmers live in them.

We must consider also that there is in *England* an incredible number of People employed in the Mines, either of Tin, Copper, Lead, Coals or Iron, who are almost all upon the Coasts, which Travellers cannot see, because they do not go that way.

Another

Another thing to be taken notice of, is, that there are in *England* above 70 Sea-ports, where three Mast-Ships may Ride safely at Anchor; besides a great many less considerable Ports, whereas in *France*, tho' a much larger Country, there is hardly the fourth part of that number.

They reckon indeed but ten thousand Parishes in *England*, which is not much more than the third part of the 27 thousand Parishes in *France*, but the *English* Parishes are commonly more populous.

We have another Proof both of the multitude of People in *England* and of the gentleness of the Government, and if it may be spoken without offence, of the bad Discipline kept in the Kingdom at the same time, viz. the prodigious multitude of Shop-Keepers in *London*, which is 6 times the number of those in *Paris*, and 12 times the number of those in *Amsterdam*, and many of them are idle persons who betake themselves to such employments meerly to avoid working, turn Bankrupt every day, and ruine others. What an incredible number of Victualling-Houses, Taverns, Ale-Houses, Coffee-Houses; and what a vast quantity of Houses where they sell Brandy, and Tobacco, and of others who let out Rooms furnished and unfurnished. We know there is need of such sort of people, but they are three times more numerous than they ought to be. What an innumerable multitude of Young

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Women

Women is there, who have neither Estate nor Trade, and yet are very sumptuously Cloathed, and live High? All those things argue a great multitude of People in a Country, which, notwithstanding such Disorders, is indifferently well peopled, and would be a great deal more populous, if good Rule and Discipline were observed in it.

We find also that the Wages of Servants, both Men and Women, are cheaper at *London* than they were at *Paris* 30 years ago, where an ordinary Servant-Maid had 50 or 60 *Livers per Annum*, and a Cook-Maid above 100 *Livers*, besides the Wine allowed her or Money in the room of it, whereas they are a great deal cheaper in *London*; and we know, that for 25 or 30 Leagues round *Paris*, a Plowman or a Shepherd, had 40 and 45 Crowns of Wages Yearly, whereas such Men in *England* are to be had for less than the half of that Money.

But notwithstanding all these Reasons, Gentlemen who travel in *England*, where they see but few great Towns, will always be apt to think that we are mistaken, and retain their own Opinion, viz. that there was more People in *France* 30 years ago, than is in *England* at present. Let us then make another supposition to convince them once for all.

We have already demonstrated, that supposing *London* to be no more populous in proportion to the bigness of *England*, than *Paris* is in

in proportion to the bigness of *France*, 650 thousand Souls might be drawn out of *London* to form 13 other Cities of 50 thousand Souls apiece, and as many people proportionably out of the adjacent parts of *London*; because they are more populous than the rest of the Kingdom, by reason of the Neighbourhood of that great City.

Then let any Man distribute, as he shall think fit, those 13 Cities of 50 thousand Souls a-piece, or if he Judges more convenient, 26 Cities of 25 thousand Souls each; I say, let him distribute them with all the Country-people, necessary for supplying them with Provisions, amongst the Shires of *England* who want most People, and then let him freely give his Judgment, whether he does not believe that *England* should have a greater number of larger Cities, and more People proportionably than *France*.

For my part, since I don't know how to do better, I shall divide 'em amongst the chiefest roads in *England*, and such parts of the Kingdom, which, I am informed, are in most want of People. I place first of all, two of those Cities of 50 thousand Souls a-piece in *Wales*, which may be divided, if it be thought best, in 4 Cities of 25 thousand Souls a-piece; so that all the parts of the Country might have a share of them. Then I place three other of those Cities of 50 thousand Souls, or six of 25 thousand a-piece upon the Road betwixt *Lon-*

don and *Edinburgh*; those Cities added to *York* which is already in that Road, would make the Land look very populous. I place further two of the said Cities of 50 thousand Souls, or four of 25 thousand each, upon the Road from *London* to *Chester*. I place two likewise of 50 thousand, or four of 25 thousand upon the Roads from *London* to *Exeter*, *Plymouth*, and *Cornwall*. As for the 4 other Cities remaining, I should also make 8 out of them, of 25 thousand Souls a piece, and place one of the number betwixt *London* and *Bristol*, another betwixt *London* and *Portsmouth*, one between *London* and *Norwich*, one between *London* and *Dover*, one between *London* and *Harwich*, one between *London* and *Oxford*, and another between *London* and *Cambridg*, and the other in *Cumberland*, or in any other manner which should be found better, for it were perhaps more convenient to add these eight last to those places already named, viz. To *Bristol*, *Portsmouth*, *Norwich*, *Dover*, *Harwich*, *Oxford*, *Cambridg* and *Carlisle*, to make them up great Cities.

Let us suppose further, since suppositions cost us nothing, that there were one hundred or two hundred Families able to keep Coaches of their own, in each of those Cities, and abundance of Well-bred People, Learned and Curious in all sort of Disciplines and Noble Arts, and who understand the World well; several delicate Publick-houses to eat and drink, with

with exquisite Cooks, who could treat well for a little Money, with quantities of all sorts of Fowl, both wild and tame, good Wine, delicate Fruits, and very cheap; that the said Cities were neat, well built, in good Air, with several fine Squares, stately Buildings within and without, both Publick and Private, curious Walks and Gardens, all sorts of Games, as Tennis, Mall, Billiard and others, Comedies, Ballets, Musick, of all kinds, good Masters for all sorts of Sciences, for the Exercises of the Body, and for Musical Instruments; several exquisite and rare Artists in all things relating either to Ornament, Curiosity or Pleasure; and above all the rest, the People courteous, civil, obliging, and always ready to serve Strangers for little or nothing, as in *France*; I say, if all those things were to be found in twenty or thirty great Cities in *England*, no question but Travellers would not only be better pleased with them, than they are now, but also would think *England* to be much more populous than they do now; We are apt to forget the great Towns where we had no pleasure, and saw no curiosity, as if we had met with no living Soul in them, or as if all the Inhabitants had been meer *Clowns* and *Peasants*, and not *civilized People*. The Country-Towns in *France*, had, I confess, a great advantage in all those things, over the Towns in *England*; but it must be granted also, that no wealth or easiness was to be found any where else, for the

Country-people was plunged in an incredible Misery, and the Nobility ruined; the Cities and Towns did drain all the Wealth and Money, both by receiving the King's Taxes, and by an infinite number of Officers of Judicature and Finances, and by the Clergy and *Maltotiers*.

The *English* Nobility and Gentry who have been in *France*, remember they found great satisfaction in several Cities and Towns of that Kingdom, which, for that reason, make still a considerable Impression on their Minds, whereas they know no place in *England*, except *London*, that is acceptable to them, for pleasures and curiosity. But yet this doth not argue, that *France* was ever so populous, as *England* is even at present.

To all the reasons from matter of Fact alledged already, to prove that *England* is more populous proportionably to its bigness, than *France* was 30 years ago, and consequently richer. I shall add several others to shew that it must be so, and shall repeat those already hinted, that they may be seen together.

I must intreat the Reader here to redouble his Attention, because, tho' the Subject which I handle in this place, and the Reasons that I shall alledge, are fitted to the capacity of all sorts of People, yet they are of very great moment, especially those that I shall produce in the beginning, which show the mischiefs which

Popery

Popery brings upon Nations subject to it. There you will find Arguments against Popery, which being neither Theological, nor Philosophical, but only Political, may perhaps make a greater impression upon Princes and their Councils (who commonly have regard for nothing else but their own Temporal Interest, or that of their People) than all the Reasons adduced from Scripture commonly do, tho' they be infinitely of more weight. Some Heads will be something long, but they are of great consequence. This is a Field that hath not hitherto been sufficiently plowed, and which in time may, with God's blessing, bring forth a plentiful Harvest.

1. The Protestant Religion does not permit their Ecclesiasticks to live at the Charge of the People, as the Clergy of the pretended Church of *Rome* do, who pillage and exhaust them, there being not a Year even at present, notwithstanding the general Misery of the Subjects, but they get from them, one way or other, above 15 Millions of Livers, by their ridiculous unscriptural Devotions and Superstitions, and thousands of Tricks and Cheats, which contributing to the Ruine of the People, is destructive to Propagation.

2. There are six Church-men in *France*, at least, for one in *England*, proportionably to the respective bigness of both Kingdoms, tho' its known that we do not want Church-men

in *England*, and by consequence there are so many Subjects more in *France* that do not work, and are not useful to the Nation, except a very small number of them.

3. In particular, the Mendicant Fryers are extremely burthensom to the Kingdom, being altogether useles, whereas among the Secular Clergy, the Bishops with their Canons, the Curates, and part of their Priests are proper for the ordinary service of their pretended Church, such as it is; And those Begging-Monks are yet more intolerable in this than the Indowed Monks, that by their voluntary and base beggarliness they are very chargeable to the People, who must maintain them plentifully, one way or other: For they have commonly a plentiful Table, and drink abundance of Wine, while a great many honest Men, and such as are useful to the Nation have no Bread to eat. This sort of Monks do moreover a great prejudice to the Real Poor, for they can find no Bread, because the Monks exhaust the Charity of the People. And further, they out-do all the rest of the Clergy in Hypocrisy and Ignorance, by their pretences to a great Mortification, draw in abundance of Young and Handsom Ladies, who chuse them for their Confessors, whereby great uncleannesses are practised. 'Tis thought there are above sixty thousand of this sort in the Kingdom. And suppose they cost the Nation but 6 pence a day, one with another, it will amount

mount to near 7 Millions of Livers Yearly. That's the least they spend, for they are commonly in the best Towns, where they live daintily; but they take always great care that the Publick should not be informed of their good cheer, for fear it should obstruct the Charities bestowed upon them. I have seen many times several Spits full of excellent Meat a roasting for them, with all sorts of Fowl, wild and tame, and great Joynts of the best Meat in By-houses a little remote from their Monastries; and the People who lived mostly by that Trade, to'd us, that all that was Charity given to the good Fathers,

4. The Popish Clergy do not Marry, whereas our Church-men do for the most part, and therefore help to people the Land.

5. Half of the Real and Personal-Estates in the Kingdom is in their hands, that is to say, in *Mortemain*, which is far less advantagious, than if they were in the hands of People fit either for Trade, Manufactures, or Arts, or if those Estates did pass hereditarily by Succession from Parents to Children, or to the next a-kin, and by consequence is destructive to the Propagation and Welfare of a Kingdom.

6. Their mischievous Custom of keeping always abundance of Plate in their Churches and Convents, and in those Treasures, as they call them, as at *S. Denis*, *Notre Dame de Laesse*, *Notre Dame des Ardillieres*, and several other such Places; I say that foolish Custom deprives
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the State and the People of a considerable part of the Gold and Silver which is in the Nation, and would be useful for Trade.

7. It is also the usual method of many amongst the Secular and Regular Clergy, to hoard up Money; for tho' they have no Children, Legitimate at least, and are not allowed to Trade, and withal enjoy great Revenues, yet 'tis their usual custom to Treasure up Money, and commonly under the same pretence, as that the Popes have, viz. to assist their Nephews and Nieces, which they seldom do, but when they are a dying, which is doubly prejudicial to Trade; 'Tis observed also that this sort of Men is very covetous, and do not love to give Almes, tho' obliged to it by their first Institution, and the intention of the Founders. I need not say any thing how prejudicial such practices are to Trade, and consequently to the Prosperity of a Nation.

8. The great number of ridiculous Holy-days which they observe in *France*, rob that Nation of the 6th part of the working days in the year, since they have above 50 Holy-days more than we have in *England*, which is of very great consequence to a Nation; for if so be the Profits of Labour and Industry both of Men and Women, go almost twice as far as all the Revenues both of Real and Personal-Estates, let any Man judge what may be the loss of the sixth part of those Profits: This is also so much the more ruinous to the People

People of France, that they have already a greater number of Men unfit for Work proportionably, than we have here in *England*, viz. all the Officers of the Courts of Judicature great and small, the *Maltotiers* or Farmers of the Impositions, with their innumerable Crew of Underlings, a prodigious number of other Civil Officers, greater standing Armies even in times of Peace, a prodigious number of Begging-people, and then the vast number of the Clergy-men; without mentioning the loss of the time spent in Processions for the Saint of every Parish, and Trade, whose days are not observed every where as others are; as also in Pilgrimages to some Statues, Images, or Bones of some pretended Saints, upon which they spend whole Weeks, Months and Years, going sometimes as far as *Rome*, and the remotest parts of *Spain*, to see the Statue of *St. James of Galicia*; They lose also their time in their Confession to the Priests, at their Anniversaries for the Dead, as *Ash-wednesday*, at the Private Masses for the cure of the Diseases of their Beasts, whereat they must be present. A great many lose their time also in carrying their Mass-God about to the Sick and elsewhere, for there must be 4 Men to carry the Canopy, besides the Priest, who holds the pretended Sacrament in his hands, and that is performed sometimes in 50 different places at once, in the great Cities, every day, besides many other such vain ways of trifling

trifling away their precious time about such fooleries: Without mentioning the Debaucheries and Rogueries that are committed on so many Holy-days.

9. The Pope to whom all the Popish Nations are Tributaries, and a kind of Slaves, and their Princes his Vassals, and a sort of Subjects, does also rob the Kingdom of *France* of several Millions of Livers every Year under divers Pretences and Names, as the Annates, Bulls, Dispensations, Indulgences, Reliques, Provisions, *Agnus Dei*, and consecrated Grains, and several other such Names, which is so much the more ridiculous for *France* to endure it, that the Nation in these last Ages has had no greater Enemies than the Popes.

10. The Pensions paid yearly at *Rome* to the Cardinals Protectors of *France*, as they love to be called, and to several other such men, who possess great Church-Livings in *France*, which they spend at *Rome*, and the Knights of *Malta*, draw vast Sums every year out of the Kingdom of *France*, from all which mischievous practices *England* hath been delivered since the Reformation.

11. There was spent needlessly in *France*, about two Millions of Livers every year in Tapers and Wax-Candles burnt in their Churches, before their Statues, Images, Hostie, and in their Funeral Ceremonies, &c. of which Wax a great part was imported from Foreign Countries, and the other part, which was the product

product of *France*, might have been sold and employed to better uses, without mentioning the Oyl, which was also burnt on the same occasion, or the time spent in making such Wax-Lights. One can hardly imagine the Extravagant Expence that was made about these things in great and rich Towns. I confess it is much lessened at present by reason of the great Misery of the Kingdom, and I do not think it amounts now to the third part of what it did formerly: However, this thing contributing towards the Ruine of the Kingdom, was also an obstruction to Propagation.

12. Their Lent and other pretended Fast-days, as they call them, does also a great prejudice to the Kingdom, seeing they spent some years ago, when the Kingdom was more populous and rich, above six Millions of Livers every year, in dry and salt Fish, which they bought from Foreign Countries, besides what they themselves took. This Custom was also very prejudicial to the Breeding of Cattle, of which much less was consumed than would have been otherwise, and consequently it did diminish the Revenue of Lands, and does constantly occasion the death of a great many people, with whose Constitution Fish does not agree, and who either cannot find Meat in the small Towns and Boroughs in *Lent*, have no Money to buy it, or else entertain scruples against

They are not called Fish-days, as in *England*, because Fish is very scarce in the most parts of *France*.

against it by the suggestion of the Idolatrous Priests, who flatter them with hopes of going directly to Heaven without passing thro' Purgatory, if they abstain from Meat at such times. This did also destroy the Fish of the Rivers in Countries remote from the Sea, so as they cannot be furnished again, which is a great loss to the Nation; for Sea-Fish being there very scarce and dear, the Priests and Monks, and some People in Towns and Country, eat scarce any other but Fresh-water Fish: They do also lose their time in Fishing, and very often catch nothing at all.

And being upon this Subject, it may not be perhaps unseasonable, to confute the Errour of those who fancy that *Lent*, and pretended Fast-days are advantagious to a Nation; because, say they, it saves abundance of Cattle, and puts people upon Fishing, and consequently to the getting of more profit by the Sea, than they would otherwise do; and by that same means also, more Sea-men are bred. I confess that *Lent* and Fast-days are very useful to some Nations, but 'tis not by observing them themselves, but by furnishing those who do so with Fish, as the English, Scotch, Dutch, &c. who furnish the French and others. In *England* the English were quickly sensible that this was a mistake in Politicks; for after *Lent* hath been observed there a while, since the Reformation, on pretence of some such Political reasons, as the encouragement of Fishing, &c.

ing, &c. they soon left it off, perceiving it did more hurt than good; they saw it did not increase the number of Sea-men, but rather diminish them, and that there was no more Fish taken and consumed, but rather less, by reason that People being under that servitude, were disgusted with it and did eat it against their will upon the very Fish-days, and could not endure it at all at other times. Whereas they eat it at all times indifferently now, and there is always good store of all sorts to be found at the Fish-mongers, as well of Sea, as of Fresh-water Fish, and all sorts of Shell-fish; and now those who love Fish more than Meat, can please themselves, which they could not do, if they were commanded tyrannically to do it. Besides, Fisher-men could not then make their constant Trade of Fishing, but only in *Lent*, and about *Fridays* and *Saturdays*, whereas they can fish now, and do fish actually every day. 'Tis true, *France* does not afford such plenty of Meat as *England*; but this must be also granted, that the People in *France*, who have Means, do not feed so much upon Meat, even upon *Flesh-days*, as they call them, as the English commonly do; and besides, the most part of the French People have not wherewithal to do it. But I say further, that *France* is in greater want of Fish than of *Flesh*, and that the Kingdom would have had Meat enough, if *Lent*, the four Ember-weeks, and other *Fast-days*, had not been set up by Superstition,

stitution, for this occasioned a neglect in breeding of Cattle, and even at present tho' the Kingdom lies desolate in most parts, they could afford Cattle enough, if *Lent* were abolished, and Lands not abandoned; and tho' *France* is at less Expence now, as to the buying of Foreign Fish, than it was before the War, yet it expends still very great Sums that way, tho' the poorer sort of People in the remotest Provinces from Sea, seldom tast Fish of any sort, and even very rarely of Meat. But, lest any body should imagine that I contradict my self, in saying, that the People of *England* does not eat less Fish since the observation of *Lent*, but do rather eat more, and that I pretend nevertheless, that the observation of such a Superstition, prejudices the Revenues of Land in *France*, and hinders the breeding and consumption of Cattle; I shall answer that specious Objection: I call it specious, because it seems, that if so be the abolishing of *Lent*, and other Fish-days in *England*, produces that effect, that more Fish is eaten in it since, it would seem to follow, that less Meat should be consumed; and so consequently, if *Lent* and other pretended Fast-days were abolished in *France*, more Fish would be eaten, and less Flesh destroyed. I answer to this, That there is no real contradiction in my Position, but only a seeming one, and that only to those who do not weigh things rightly. My reason is this, that in *England* the People have always,

ways, and at all seasons, plenty both of Meat and Fish, no place in the Kingdom being very remote from Sea, and there being many Rivers full of Fresh-water Fish, and the Tide coming up a great way in many of those Rivers, the Sea-Fish is convey'd into the Country at a very small charge. They have also plenty of good Cattle; so that they may at all times eat that which they like best, or find cheapest, and eat it also without that aversion, which the Tyranny of Imposition occasions, when they are commanded or forbidden upon pain of Eternal Damnation to eat, or not to eat such and such things, at such and such times. Whereas *France* is generally much more remote from the Sea, and Fish there very scarce or dear. Now in the places far distant from Sea, if it were not for the Superstition of *Lent*, and other Fast-days, as they call them, in those places, I say, they would eat much more Meat than they do, and more also than is eaten near the Sea-Coasts, where Fish is more plentiful and cheaper, and consequently they should breed more Cattle; and likewise they should eat more Fish in the Sea-ports and other places near the Sea than they do at present, if it were not for the Tyranny imposed upon their Consciences, which forbids them to eat Meat at such and such times, which creates if not in all, in most part of them a kind of abhorrency for Fish which they are forced to eat; And so it comes to pass that

less Fish is taken in the Sea-ports, than there would be without this Superstition ; and also less Cattle is bred in the Country than there would be, if it were not for the same abuse, which forbids the eating of Meat for about five Months in the Year, and so puts all things in disorder. For by this means those that live near the Sea are disgusted at Fish, which Nature and Providence affords them very cheap, and almost for nothing, and which would be a great Treasure to them, if it were not for the Tyranny imposed upon them, and those that live in the Country farther off, who could breed abundance of Cattle, and eat Meat very cheap, are forced to abstain from it, and lose that great advantage, and cannot have Fish but at a very dear rate. This horrid abuse occasioned formerly the Expense of a great many Millions Yearly to *France* for Foreign Fish, and causes a vast expense even at present, but does 6 times more prejudice otherwise, besides the Diseases and Death of abundance of weakly or old People, with whose constitution Fish does not agree, as I said already, and are therefore forced to eat many unwholesome things unfit for them, by reason of their scruples of Conscience.

Things stand in their natural Order in *England*, as to this, whereas in *France* all is turn'd upside down ; For why, humanly and christianly speaking, shall it be lawful to eat Meat at such times rather than at others ? Or why must

must the Country-people be obliged to throw to the Dogs their Calves and Kids that are brought forth about *Lent*, when they want the Milk of the Dam? Because no body is free to buy and eat Flesh at that time.

Observe by the way, that *France* has lost also considerably in that respect, by the expulsion of Protestants, because they did buy at that time such Young Beasts and several others in the Countries where they did live, which otherwise had been lost to the Owners, or else very chargeable to them. This may seem to be an inconsiderable thing, but yet 'tis not so inconsiderable in such a great Kingdom as *France* is, where it occasions the loss of great Sums Yearly. But here are yet two other inconveniences of great moment which happen by keeping of *Lent*.

The first is, That the People are obliged very often to keep abundance of Cattle almost two Months longer than they would, or can conveniently do, for want of Forage or other Food, which occasions oftentimes the loss of a great many Cattle and Beasts. It is known that the Country-people use to keep every Year a certain fixt number of Beasts of all kinds; Now it comes very often to pass, that some years Forage and Food is scarcer than others, that the Winter is sharper and longer; so that the Farmers and Peasants being ill-provided with Forage in those years, and there being little Grass yet growing in the Fields, because

of the backwardness of the Season, their Cattle must needs suffer much, if not perish quite, which would not happen if there was no such thing as *Lent*; for in that case they would sell part of their Cattle to Butchers, or eat it themselves.

The second inconvenience which I observed is this, that in *Lent* and other Fast-days, the richest Peasants who dare not eat Meat then, & who have no Fish, do eat the most part of the Milk of their Cows, which disables them to suckle their Calves well, which is partly the cause why the *French* Cattle are commonly so poor and small. So that by this means, the Boors by not eating Flesh in *Lent*, destroy four times more Flesh than they would do if they were allowed to eat it; which is also a vast prejudice to *Agriculture*, the Revenue of a State, and to the Propagation of Mankind. If any bold pretenders, to wit. condemn those Observations, as if they were more proper for Boors, than for intelligent and refined Men; I cannot help it, but I believe all Men will not be of their Opinion.

13. That Spirit of Unjustice and Violence which at all times possesseth the Romish Clergy, and sets them when ever they meet with Princes of their own humour, to persecute those with the utmost fury, who will not submit to their Opinions, which have no other foundation, but their own Ambition, Pride and Covetousness; that Spirit, I say, of Unjustice has

has been one of the great causes of the Ruine of *France*. I leave it to the World to judge, whether they have not taken advantage in these last times of the weakness of that Ambitious Prince, who was possessed with the Chimerical Design of an Universal Monarchy, to make him believe that it was convenient for him, in order to attain his End, to destroy the reformed Religion in *England*, *Holland*, *France*, and in all other parts, and under that pretence to bring King *James*, who was known to be a bigotted Prince into the same design, and oblige him to do all what we know he did, and to dispossess him at last, and keep *Great Brittain* for himself; I appeal, I say, to the Judicious, whether we may not say with reason, that in this respect the *Romish Clergy* and *Jesuits* have been the Incendiaries of this War, which is like to ruine the Kingdom of *France* for ever, or if that be not granted, yet they must of necessity own that their persecuting Spirit has done incredible mischiefs to that Nation.

14. There is yet another thing very contrary to the welfare of the Nation, and to the Propagation of the People, viz that the *French Clergy*, who enjoy the half of all the Estates Real and Personal, of the Kingdom, as I have already said; and ought consequently to pay at least as much to the King proportionably, as the other Subjects, who possess the other half of the Kingdom. The Clergy, I
H 3 say,

say, pay, even at present, scarce ten Millions of Livers since the War, to wards the 200 Millions which the King exacts every year, one way or other, from the Nation, that is to say, that the Clergy and Religious Orders, both Male and Female, who make up perhaps 300 thousand Souls, enjoy as much Revenue as 8 or 9 Millions of other People that are yet in the Kingdom of *France* at this day, or as much as was enjoyed by 13 or 14 Millions that might have been in it 30 years ago, and that altho' every one of the Clergy and Religious Orders, one with another, hath as much to spend now, in relation to the Revenue of the Real and Personal-Estates, as 40 or 50 other Persons of the promiscuous multitude, taken one with another, that yet for all that, the Clergy and Religious Orders taken in bulk, do not bear above the 20th part of the charges of the Government. And this must be yet added, that before this War, when the King did raise by the ordinary Impositions 132 Millions Yearly, without the Casualties, as they call it, that did amount some Years to 50, 60 and 70 Millions, the Clergy did not pay above 9 or 6 Millions Yearly. For the Poll-Tax, by which they are obliged to pay 4 Millions Yearly during 5 Years, was established since. But further, that we may better comprehend how much the Clergy is eased above all other Subjects in the Kingdom, it must be known that the Officers of Judicature and other Civil

vil Officers in the Nation, as those of the Finances, Civil-Government, and others, who did all of them buy their Offices very dear, the Farmers of the Imposts, great and small, with all their Crew, and the Clergy themselves, did cost the People altogether above 200 Millions of Livers Yearly, when the Kingdom was in a better condition than now, that is, about 20 or 30 years ago, without mentioning other Vexations and the loss of their time which they suffered, by continual wranglings at Law, Oppressions and Depredations of their Goods, or by the Superstitions of the Clergy; of all which Vexations and Losses of time, and other Calamities, if they had been free, they might have probably earned or saved 100 Millions *per Annum* more. But these things, I say, I don't reckon, because they turned to no body's account. At present indeed they cannot get so much from the People, because of their being destroyed and totally ruined. Now the Clergy is not only free from all those Mischiefs and Losses of Money and Time, to which the other Subjects are obnoxious, but they do also get Money from the People and plunder them by their false Devotions, and a thousand new ways contrived by their Covetousness, abusing the Peoples credulity, endeavouring continually to involve them in greater Ignorance, that they might domineer over them more easily, and so dispoil them. 'Tis very well known, that the Officers of Judica-

ture do much more indulge the Clergy than they do the other Subjects, and that the Farmers of the Impositions have little or nothing to do with them; and notwithstanding that the Clergy do abuse and cheat them of their Substance by their superstitious tricks, as well as they do other People; yet they are respected and feared by the Lawyers, and do maintain some Judges, Advocates and Attorneys, who are their Pensionaries; There is not one Community of Ecclesiasticks or Religious Orders, either Male or Female, but have some Pensionaries in all the notable Tribunals where their businesses lye, who order it so that they gain almost all their Suits at Law, how unjustly soever they be, against the Laity, who are less able to sustain a good cause, for want of Money and Protection, and then the Ecclesiasticks are every day forging false Titles for want of good ones, by the hand of a Father *Titrier*, as they call him, that is, a Maker or Keeper of their Titles; for 'tis certain, that they have such a one in all the Communaltries of Ecclesiasticks. This goes under the name of pious Frauds, as well as the false Donations and Legacies which they often pretend to have been bestowed upon them. In that manner they dispoil the poor Laymen of their Estates, by the Favour and Protection they find one from another, for they support one another as Thieves do, and are supported by the Pope, who has a secret influence upon all their

their Affairs, and sometimes they are supported also by Courtiers; besides the advantage they have by being richer than their Adversaries, and by bribing the Officers of Judicature, who sometimes, as I said, are their Pensionaries. As for the *Makotiers*, that is, the Farmers general and particular of Impositions, and their Servants, the Romish Clergy is not exposed to their Robberies, for they are not obnoxious to the Publick Taxes, but contrarywise, those men are much more obnoxious to the Craft of the Clergy, for they flatter them with the hopes of a Pardon for all their Extorsions and Robberies, if they do but employ them about saying Masses, or make them Presents, or enter into their Fraternities, and pay for it, &c. Neither are they exposed as others are, to the vexations committed in raising of Publick Taxes; for, as I said already, the Publick Taxes do not regard them: Nor do they suffer by the Subtilties and Cheating Tricks of other Ecclesiasticks, as do the rest of the Nation, for one Raven does never pick out the Eyes of another. And moreover, their Estates, and their Farmers and Tenants, are in a better condition than those of others, because the Landlords, being well in their Affairs, are able to support them the better, and their Houses and Lands are always kept in better order, and furnished with the best Cattle the Land affords. Besides, they are not liable to be forced to buy new Offices, or lose the old ones, as
other

other people are, because they have none. They are not crushed as the other Subjects, with ordinary and extraordinary Taxes, nor with forced Loans to the King, whereby so many thousands of others have been and are every day utterly ruined; neither do they go to War, nor to the Arrier-Ban. By this means, it comes to pass, that this sort of People, who are for the most part burthensom and unprofitable to the Nation, and even to their pretended Church, are free from all the Calamities under which the useful Subjects groan. I say, they are unprofitable for the most part; for 'tis certainly true, that tho' of 250 thousand People of that kind, there may be in that Kingdom (besides the Nuns) 190 thousand should be disbanded, there would remain a sufficient number for their ordinary Service. And so all the Monks generally, either those that enjoy great Rents, or those who are Beggars, might be very conveniently dismissed, and generally all the Convents might be abrogated, maintaining only the Bishops and a competent number of Curates and Priests, who ought to pay Taxes proportionably to their Revenues. Equity, good Order, and Publick Welfare requires no less. But nothing good was to be expected from such a Reign as this is. I grant the Curats and Country-Priests are heavily loaden with Taxes, and that they can hardly subsist, because all the burthen is cast upon them; But yet they fare a great deal

deal better than the greatest part of the Laity, who possessed formerly some Estates, which they have lost now by the Taxes, and are with all charged with Debts and Children. Whereas tho' the Priests be never so poor, yet some Bread is left them, without any toil or turmoil for it; for they neither labour nor preach, nor are bound to do any kind of work, but what the most idle, stupid and ignorant Peasant might do as well, if he could but read, and had memory enough to learn by long practice, how to handle the Musquet and some part of the Military Postures, for the exercise of the Mass and Priests Trade, may be learnt and practised as easily as that; they enjoy a Church-living *gratis*, which they neither merit for their capacity nor services, which are none, neither had by Inheritance from their Ancestors, nor can be seized upon for Debts. I grant, 'tis but reason they should live by their Trade, since they do that which the People will have them to do, and wherewith they are contented. But as for those numbers of rich Monasteries, Convents, Commonalties, Abbeys, Priories, Prebendaries which contribute nothing or almost nothing, to the support of the Government: What reason is there that they should enjoy the half of all the Estates in the Kingdom, and should not pay to the Government, above the 20th part of what the rest of the Nation pays. For, as I said before, those wealthy Clergy-men pay almost nothing of
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what the Clergy pays in general ; All the burthen falls upon the little Curates and Priests, who are left without Protection, though they ought to be most protected of all. I confess indeed, that as for the Laity, the Revenues and Profits of their Industry, help them towards the paying of Taxes, whereas the Clergy has no such help. But for all that, the Laity is overwhelmed with Taxes, while the Clergy thrives and fares well. Moreover, what Justice is it that the diligent and laborious sort of People in a Nation should perish, and be destroyed like Victims, in order to fatten the lazy and idle sort, and that so many Millions of useful Subjects, should be Sacrificed to such sluggish Belly-Gods ? We can never enough bewail such a blindness as this, nor express all the mischiefs which such an Unjustice brings along with it, and wherewith *France* hath been afflicted for so many Centuries, the effects which are more pernicious now than ever.

15. What shall we say of the Moral Philosophy of that pretended Religion, so suitable to its Doctrines, which is commonly ascribed to the Jesuites, but belongs *de facto* and *de jure*, to all the Sects, and Parts of the Popery and is authorized by the constant practice of all their pretended Church Which canonizes all the Crimes perpetrated for its interest, and palliates and extenuates all others, has abolished the Ten Commandments of God's Law by other Laws diametrically opposite and contrary

contrary to them, and constantly practised and commanded by that Society of Men, commonly called the *Church of Room*, as I could easily justifie, which fills the whole World, but *France* especially, with Ungodliness and all sorts of Vices.

16. What shall we say more of that Spirit of Tyranny, with which the Romish Clergy, but especially the Jesuits, do inspire Princes who are ruled by them, not only in things relating to Religion, but also to Political Government. by counselling 'em to make use of the most desperate Tyranny, because that how much the more the Princes whom they govern, are authorized and feared of their Subjects, so much the more are the Jesuits their Tutors authorized and dreaded also. *France* smarts at present under the effects of this, and *England* has but lately escaped the like danger. That Spirit of Tyranny which makes up a great part of the Essence of Popery, is yet more peculiar to the Society of Jesuits, than to any other in Popery. And 'tis known that the Principles of their Order, as they call it, do give their General an absolute and indefinite Power to Command, and to do what he lists, and that they are to render him a Blindfold-obedience, and they look upon the Pope's pretended Monarchy over the Universal Church and World, to be the most perfect Pattern of Governments, in assuming to himself the Authority to destroy all Nations and Persons in Soul

Soul and Body, who oppose his temporal Interste.

17. The Unchastity of all their Clergy both Male and Female, ^{caused} by their Celibacy, and execrable Morals, as well as by the example of all the chiefest Prelates at *Rome*, is of a very great prejudice to *France*, because it did formerly fill the whole Kingdom with Adulteries, Fornications, Incestuous Copulations, and things yet more execrable, nay, with millions of open and hidden Crimes, and causes still abundance of such Disorders, as an infinite number of Abortions, Murtherings of Children, and such like; for the Clergy who are guilty of those Vices, make no scruple, so they can but conceal them, to murder both the Mothers and Children. And then besides, they corrupt People by their ill Examples, auricular Confessions, and the pretended Power they have to give Absolution for all such Vices: these things with the Morals of their Casuists has done horrid Effects in *France*, and does still destroy many thousands of People every year, keeps abundance of People from Marrying, is a great obstruction to Propagation, and is very contrary to the Publick good.

18. The Drunkenness of that Clergy had also formerly, and has still (tho' not so much now because of the Extream Misery) a very great influence upon the Manners of all the Nation. For the greatest part of the Clergymen, except several Bishops and Curates in the biggest Towns, and some other Men in Monasteries

Monasteries and Commonalties, are Drunkards, and upon their example many of the Common-people are such also; and it must be confessed that besides the loss of so great a quantity of Wine, unprofitably spent by that Clergy, and upon their example by the People, which is a very great loss; Drunkenness, as well as Whoredom, ruins abundance of Families and destroys many People, shortning their days, and causing them to lose all their time.

I leave to Divines to speak of the bad effects of those Vices as to the Eternal Salvation. It were to no purpose to say that Drunkenness, Adultery and Fornication are common also to other Nations, but Papists. For 'tis the Popish Church, that hath most of all infected all the Word, and therefore she is very properly called in Scripture, *The Mother of all the Fornications and Abominations of all the Earth*; for she practises, abets and countenances them. And besides that, it is certain that the Popish Clergy, and even in general all People in the World, who are ignorant in the Revealed Religion, and hate the Holy Scripture, or do not read it, and have plenty of all things, as that Clergy who have nothing to do, for there is not one in two hundred that Preaches or Studies, that have no Legitimate Children or any care of Family, that by their Sacred Statutes must above all things be well provided with Tools fit for Generation, and to have

no Aversion from Wine. 'Tis certain, I say, that People who are in all those Circumstances as the Popish Clergy is, commonly are Reprobates, and given to all Crimes and Vices. How much the more that Clergy who are not obnoxious to the Secular Justice, and fear no repression, who are awed and respected generally by the People (tho' never so impious and profane) as making their own God, and pardoning Sins *authoritative* to whom they please, and upon whose intention the making of all Sacraments depends; Such Clergy, I say, who do not propose to themselves any other Examples of Vertue but that of the Popes and Cardinals, whose Ambition, Pride, Perfidiousness, Cruelty, Impiety, and Covetousness are so well known, and yet if we'll believe them, they can save and damn all Men and Nations as they please. It's certainly easie enough to conceive that a Nation can hardly thrive so well under the Direction of such Men, and such a strange sort of Religion, which is truly Antichristian, as under the Reformed Religion, and a Protestant Ministry. In a word, it may be truly affirmed without any passion or invective, that the Popish Morals and the constant practice of their pretended Church do authorize, even by their Councils and approved Doctors, all Crimes and Vices, which has a powerful and mighty influence upon the manners of the People, and by this means, if God had permitted the Secular Justice to be depraved to
such

such a degree as the Principles and Practices of that Church are, humane Society should never have subsisted: So that we have but very little reason to admire the great Wisdom or super-fine Politicks of those great Men, the Cardinals *de Richelieu* and *Mazarin*, *Louvois*, *Colbert* and others, who did not perceive those palpable and gross abuses, or which is worse, had no inclination to Reform them. If any Man say, that the respect they had for Religion did hinder them. that's a mighty reflection upon their understanding, for how could they ascribe to the Christian Religion and its great Author, such follies and extravagancies, which are not attended with the least Profit, and are so much against common sense, so scandalous and contrary to equity and charity, and tending visibly to the ruine of States and Nations. Besides, 'tis well known, that those Persons cared but little for Religion, and that they did not regulate themselves by a superstitious Bigottery, nor was it the difficulty of Reforming such extraordinary abuses, that did deter them from it, for the thing was easie to be done, especially under a Prince of so much Authority as *Lewis* the XIV. and all the Nation would have been glad of it, because it would have eased them considerably, therefore it's plain, it was for no other reason, but that they wanted a due elevation of mind, and zeal for the Publick good. Nothing was dear to them, but their own Interest, and how

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they might satisfie their Ambition and Covetousness, and attain their desire to enrich and raise their Families.

This is some part of the Political Mischiefs that the Romish Religion is the cause of; and every Body may learn from hence, that all the Popish States, who are not inclined to shake off the Pope's Yoke, think it their Interest to endeavour to reduce those who shook it off under the same again, to deprive them of those great advantages they enjoy above themselves, and therefore Protestant States ought to beat all times upon their Guard, as well to preserve their Religion as their Civil Government. I make bold to say, that I could demonstrate here, if it were convenient, that the pretended Religion of the Church of *Rome* hath caused a prejudice to the Kingdom of *France*, of above 200 Millions of Livers one year with another, for a long time.

Certainly any man will be convinced, that the Doctrines of the Pope's Supremacy and Transubstantiation, and some other of the same sort, make but a small compensation to *France* for the great Losses she endures by them, and that if so be there had been any true solidity of Judgment, or any spark of Generosity in those great Politicians before named, they would have avoided such a ruine, by contenting themselves to acknowledge the Authority of Christ and his Word, without charging themselves with such ruinous and monstrous

strous Opinions. One would think that Men who have so little regard to reasons drawn from the Holy Scriptures, against Popery, ought to be so much the more affected with those which Temporal Interest affords.

So that for the Reasons above mentioned, and others that might be named; I think the abolishing of Popery in *England*, is worth to this Kingdom at least 8 Millions Sterling Yearly, which it spares by it one way or other, and proportionably to *Scotland*, but much less to *Ireland*, because Popery Reigns still there too much, with most of the disorders which I noted before.

Here it is fit to observe, that I do not reckon amongst the 200 Millions of Livers which *France* loses every Year one with another by Popery, the ordinary Annual Revenues which the Clergy get either from the Real and Personal Estates, or by their Cheats and Tricks; for all that they get by those things is not lost to the Kingdom, seeing they must live. I understand only the damages that are caused by the Principles of Popery and their necessary consequences. Nor do I mean that *France* loses at present so much Yearly, as 200 Millions *per Annum*, by Popery at present; because of the Kingdoms decay in its Revenues: But it may be affirmed with reason, that for a very long time, till the days wherein we live, it lost above 200 Millions, or the equivalent every year one with another. This must be

understood, since Silver and Gold became more common in *France*, for 200 hundred years ago, all the Revenues of *France* were not worth 100 Millions.

It is easie to demonstrate, that if Popery were abolished in *France*, which is not to be expected in this Reign, and tho' the Government were as at present in respect of Taxes, yet the King of *France* might easily get an hundred Millions of Livers more from the Kingdom, than *Lewis* the XIV. does, without the Peoples being Taxed any more than at present.

19. *France* is not so conveniently situated for Trade as *England*, which is encompassed almost round by the Sea, and has four times as many good Ports as *France*, and no body can deny that this is a great advantage, for to make a Nation both populous and rich.

20. *France* has no such Mines as *England* has, of Tin, Copper, and Lead which do enrich the Land, and furnish Subsistence to an incredible number of People, as well as the Coal-pits we have, of which none almost in *France*.

21. The Copse-Woods do take up great part of the ground in *France*, whereas the *English* Coal-pits take up very little ground, whence there is so much the more Ground for Tillage and Husbandry, which serves to maintain a greater quantity of People.

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22. The Vines of which the Expences are so great, and their Revenue so uncertain, since they fail commonly more than once in three Years, take up also a great deal of Ground in the Kingdom of *France*, whereas the Corn or ordinary Mault, wherewith we make our Drink in *England*, fails more seldom, and costs much less, either for cultivating of it or getting it from other places. So that 'tis rare that the price of Beer increases.

23. 'Tis observed also, that Corn Lands in *France* fail oftner than in *England*, which Observation, if it be true, as I believe it is, must proceed either from a greater fruitfulness of the Soil in *England*, or from a more equal temperature of the Air, or from this Reason, that the *English* are better provided with good Cattle, and Men, and all other necessities for Husbandry, or from all those Reasons together, which I think to be very true, and is most certain. We have shewn already that the Land is more populous, and the Cattle is more numerous also, and better fed than in *France*, because there is generally more Hay and better pastures in *England*, and by consequence their Cattle, as well as Men who are better fed, can work better; Besides, their Cattle make more Dung and better than that of *France*, for the Dung of good and lusty Cattle is better than that of weakly and lean Cattle, and Hay-dung is better than Straw-dung;

'Tis known there is almost no Hay in several Provinces of *France*, So that the Horses where-with they Plow and Till the Ground, feed only upon Straw with some Oats, and for that reason they cannot keep Cows nor Oxen. In other Provinces where they keep such Cattle, they mix Straw with Hay for their food, and as I said before, the Young Calves being deprived in *Lent* and other Fast-days, of the Milk of the Cows, because the Boors live upon Milk at those times, this hinders the Cattle from growing lusty and strong; But further, the extreme poverty of Farmers and other Country-people does not permit them to do their Work so well as it ought to be done, nor to be supplied with such good Cattle and other necessities. However, 'tis certain, that tho' *England* is not so well peopled, nor the ground so well managed as it should be; 'tis certain, I say, it sends abundance of Corn to Foreign Nations; *Holland, Flanders, Spain, Portugal* have vast quantities from hence, which confirms it further, that *England* is more populous than most People think, especially when we consider that *London* consumeth such a prodigious quantity of Corn, and that commonly at a good rate, if compared with the ordinary price of it at *Paris*, tho' not much above half so big as *London*, and which is situated in the midst of several Provinces abounding with Corn, and enjoys several Rivers fit for carriage, which do all fall into the River *Seine* at *Paris*.

24. A Country fit for Pasture and Breeding of Cattle, can maintain a greater number of People, than one which is destitute of that advantage, because the Cattle feeding in the Fields, work for Men in their absence, and they can in the mean time go about their business; Besides, Cattle supplies many Manufactures, as I said before, as are those of Wooll, Leather, Horns, Butter, Cheese, Tallow, &c. Moreover, a little Meat with Bread, nourishes better than 3 times as much Bread without Meat. That's the Reason why the *English People* eat generally less Bread than those of *France*, and withal are stronger and fatter.

25. Victuals are commonly cheaper in *England* than in *France*, which wonderfully helps to the encrease of People, when not occasioned by scarcity of Money, as 'tis now in *France*; 'tis mightily advantageous to Tradesmen, Manufacturers, Merchants, who can Victual their Ships at a better rate than others can do, and they may by that means, as well as Tradesmen and Manufacturers afford their Commodities cheaper to Foreigners and Natives, and so undersell all others.

26. Woollen-cloth, which is the ordinary Cloathing of Mankind, Coal-fewel, Salt, Candle, Common-Sope, Shoes, are cheaper in *England* than in *France*, which is a great help to Propagation, for the less it costs people to

maintain themselves and their Family, the more are they inclined to marriage.

27. The Fishing also in the *English* Seas, and the great plenty of Oysters, Crabs, Muscles, Langosts, Cockles and other such things, do maintain and nourish many more People, both Fishermen and others, in *England* than in *France*, and consequently make it a great deal more populous.

28. *England* has also several great Rivers naturally better furnished with Fresh-water Fish than those of *France*. Besides, Lent and other Fish-days, as well as great numbers of Monks who are forbidden to eat Meat at any time, have exhausted all the Rivers of *France* of Fish, to that degree, that very few is to be found in them, as I insinuated before, and the Rivers of *England* have moreover a long Tide and Ebb, so that the Sea-Fish is always at a good rate, because it can be carried by that means very easily and cheap, and conveyed to all parts of *England*, which is generally nearer the Sea than *France* is.

29. The stupendious multitude of Soldiers in the *French* Service, which the King keeps even in times of Peace, who are for the most part Unmarried, as I already said, and what's worse, do mightily vex and disturb the other Subjects, are a great impediment to *France's* being so populous as *England*.

30. They do not take so great care of relieving

lieving poor Families in *France*, as they do in *England*.

31. There dyes without necessity, that is to say, for meer want, much more People in Hospitals, and poor Families in *France* than in *England*, as I have demonstrated.

32. The method of raising Taxes and Impositions in *Lewis* the XIV. Reign, has also contributed much towards depopulating the Kingdom: As for example, the *Taille*, the *Gabelle* or Excise upon Salt, the *Utensile* and some other Impositions, are raised by Collectors, who are obliged *in Solidum*, to pay one for another and for all the Parish, where they are established Collectors, to pay, I say, and answer for all insolvent persons; Such Collectors have commonly no Wages nor Sallary for their pains, as they have in *England*, so that they are obliged to spend all their time therein, without any indemnity, and as the People is ruined, if the Collectors have any thing to lose, they lose it also infallibly; I have known several Peasants who had 30 years ago, a Stock of five, or six, or ten thousand Livers, who in two or three years time, have been totally ruined, by being made Collectors. There is none of 'em at present in the Country, that are worth any thing, so that they cannot lose it, but they are continually busie, running from place to place in the Parish to get Payment, and lose absolutely all their time in that unlucky Office. There are at least four of them for the *Taille*
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in every Parish, and four for the *Gabelle* or Imposition upon Salt, every year; in some Parishes there are more. Moreover, the Collectors of the former years, to whom something is owing of the old Taxes which they paid for others, lose also their time about recovering their due, running from House to House; and for all this, because 'tis often impossible to them to pay the Receivers, being not paid themselves, they are frequently Imprisoned, and must perish in the Goal; it intangles them besides, in many Suits at Law, wherein they and their Adversaries lose Money and Time. And so in all other Impositions and Taxes, besides what the King has for his share, which is always very excessive, and what the Farmers general and particular, and their wretched Tools, get or extort for themselves upon the Nation, they put the poor People to vast Charges by the Suits at Law, unjust Confiscations, Imprisonments, losses of Time, and many other oppressive Ways; So that the Vexations of the People of *France* are inexpressible. Any body may judge what damage and prejudice it causes to a Kingdom, if it were nothing else but the loss of Time.

The thing is not only so in relation to the Excise upon Salt, and that called the *Taille*, and some others, raised by Collectors, but also in relation to several hundreds of other Taxes, which are not gathered by Collectors, but by other Men Commissioned and Employ-
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ed therein by the general and particular Farmers of the Imposts. One cannot imagine the Vexations and Robberies they commit upon the People, nor the incredible multitude of unjust Suits at Law which they raise, wherein they are both Judges and Parties; and the loss of Time they cause, as well as of Goods, which they occasion to the Subjects, is very considerable. Neither are they the only Gainers by it, the Officers of Judicature have also a share in it; but as for the Time lost, and several other disorders and losses it occasions to the Nation, no body gets any thing by it. I dare say, that before this War the Unjustice and Violence of those Men did beget more wranglings at Law all over the Kingdom every year, by the occasion of Taxes alone, than there are in *Spain* every year, upon what Subject soever.

33. *England* enjoys yet another advantage over *France*, which is this, that the Air is more temperate, being neither so cold nor so hot, as 'tis in the coldest or hottest parts of *France*, by reason of the Vapours of the Sea, which allay the severity of the cold and the heat of the Sun, which makes *England* to be fitter for Propagation and Multiplication both of Men and Cattle, and from thence it is that 'tis so plentiful in Cattle, and all sorts of Grass, Roots, and Herbs.

34. As for its Situation, besides that it is compassed almost round by the Sea, which makes
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her in some sort a Neighbour to all the parts of the Universal World, by means of Navigation and Trade. It has these further advantages over *France*, that its Sea-ports are far better, and more in number as I insinuated elsewhere, and that it may be said with truth, that it is much nearer the most trading parts of Europe, and even of the whole World; since on the East it faces *Holland* and *Flanders*, and the most trading parts of *Germany*. And on the North and East. it is nearer the Countries, from whence all Materials necessary for Navigation and Shipping are to be gotten, viz. *Norwege*, *Denmark*, *Swede*, *Poland*, *Prussia*, *Liesland*, and the most Northern parts of *Germany*. On the South, it faces the best and most trading part of *France*; and as for the rest of the World, the great number of its Ships, and the good Convoys it furnishes them with, sets it, as I have said already, in the Neighbourhood of the remotest parts of the World.

35. We must not forget another great advantage that *England* has above *France*, viz, that, by its situation, which has procured to it the *Naval Power* it enjoys, *England* cannot be easily invaded by Neighbouring Nations, as we see it commonly practised amongst other Nations that are contiguous one to another, and as we have seen lately the *French* King invading *Spain*, *Germany*, *Flanders*, *Savoy*, &c. which has occasioned the ruine and depopulation of part of those Countries, as did also
formerly

formerly the *Spaniards*, and other Neighbours when they invaded *France*. So that the People of *England* is more free from that danger and dishonour than any other People whatsoever.

36. We ought also to reckon this to be a great advantage, that *England* has above *France* and other Nations, viz. that by the interposition of the Sea between *England* and them, we are not so much in danger of being tempted to invade other Nations, which saves *England* abundance of precious Blood; whereas *France*, by reason of its situation, sheds floods of her People's Blood at random and in vain, which has brought that unhappy Kingdom into the miserable condition it is in at present. For tho' the *English* Maritime Forces do put them in a condition to enterprize upon the Neighbouring Nations, and to land Armies in their Country, as it is well known they often did formerly, having almost conquered all that great Kingdom, insomuch that some of our Kings were Crowned Kings of *France* at *Paris*; altho', I say, this Nation be more able than ever it was, (especially under a King so Wise and Valliant as the present King) to enterprize things of that Nature, if it were thought fit; yet it must be confessed, that there is much more difficulty in transporting into an Enemies Country great Armies with many Horses, and all other Equipage by Sea than by Land, especially having

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no Sea-port nor place belonging to us in the Land that is to be attacked, since a handful of Men standing upon their guard, can hinder their Landing, or at least the taking of footing there, and that we are to depend continually upon the *Capricio* of that unconstant and dangerous Element, and seeing one Storm can frustrate all our Designs; We cannot but believe that, in the course of one Age, this advantageous situation of *England* does save us, yet in that one respect many thousand People; Had *France* been in such circumstances as to that point, she might have spared many Millions of Subjects.

37. For this same Reason we are less obliged than other Nations are, to be concerned in the quarrels that the Countries contiguous one to another, are liable to in the main Land, unless they have or may have, some influence upon our Trade, and may enable any of our Neighbours to dispute us by degrees, out of the Dominion of the Sea, or to do us any mischief by the increase of his Naval Power; it cannot be imagined, how many People this thing does also save to *England*. And besides, we are in a greater capacity to cross and disappoint the designs of several potent Nations, than they are to disappoint ours. I mean by the strength and nimbleness of our Naval Forces, which can keep them always in allarm, and oblige them to guard all their Maritime Places and Coasts with Soldiers, which is very chargeable to 'em.

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38. By all these reasons it appears also, that there is no necessity for us to keep on foot such vast numbers of Forces in time of Peace, as our Neighbours are obliged to do, because there is not commonly much reason to fear their Invasions, when *England* is well united in it self. I confess, there is always need of a good Fleet, but it's less cost and trouble to the Nation than one or two hundred thousand Men, and besides is very useful to our Trade. Add to this, that other Nations are not free neither, notwithstanding the great number of their standing Forces, from the necessity of maintaining either great or small Fleets, as well as *England*.

39. The Places and Towns which the *French* King has kept so long in the Dominions of other Princes and States, did drain away the Coin from *France*, besides several thousands of Families. As for example, *Gazal* and *Pignerol*, where great Garrisons were kept, and all their Provisions were bought from *Piedmont* and *Montferrat*, with *French* Money. Those 2 places, I say, besides the Fortifications augmented, changed, and altered now and then, did not cost less than a Million of Livers yearly; and so many other great Garrisons, and Fortifications made in the Netherlands and elsewhere, did exhaust the Money of the Kingdom.

40. How many thousands of the *French* People did leave their Native Country to retire themselves into the new Conquests, as I insinuated

nuated elsewhere, and where they were less oppressed with Taxes; and it was supposed 15 years ago, that above 200 thousand Souls had left *France* to transplant themselves into the said Conquests. I could proffer several other reasons, but these are enough. I desire it may be observed, that in all this, I do not mention any thing that hath happened since this War, nor even the last horrid Persecution of the Protestants, the loss of so many People, of the Manufactures of Trade, and of so much Money they carried along with them; nor do I say any thing of the last Mortality, nor of the *French* King's keeping 4 or 500 thousand Men in Arms, &c.

So that 'tis easie to perceive from all those reasons, and others that may be adduced, that *England* ought not only to be more populous, which is the thing I did more particularly undertake to prove, but by necessary consequence, richer also and more potent, than *France* ever was, proportionably to the respective bignesses of both Kingdoms.

Some may perhaps object against all my Reasons, and say, if so be the Nation is so populous, how does it come to pass that it is not richer and more potent? for an Island, such as *England* is, of that extent, and so well situated, with all the other advantages above mentioned, if populous, must needs be also extremely rich and powerful; and if it be rich and powerful, whence does it come that the
King's

King's Revenues in time of Peace are so small, and nothing near so considerable as those of the French King, and his Court so much inferior to that of *France*, in splendor, magnificence, and number of Courtiers, and that his Palace in the Head-City, viz. *Whitehall*, is so little comparable in sumptuousness to the *Louvre*? I answer, first, That *England* had neither so much People, nor so much Revenue, as it might and ought to have had, considering all the advantages it possesses either from the bounty of Nature, or the form of its Government, compared to that of *France*. I know very well the reasons of it, which 'tis not fit to mention here. I say secondly, That tho' *England* is more populous and rich than *France* ever was proportionably to its Extent, that yet the number of all the People of *France*, and the Revenues of that Kingdom, (I do not say only of the King's, but the whole Kingdoms) taken in general, did always exceed those of *England*, by reason of the greater extent of the Territory, as I have often said, tho' I believe *England* at present out-does *France* very much, as well in the Revenue of Real, and Personal Estates, and in the Profits of the Industry of the People, as also in Number of Men fit for Work, Manufactures, Arts, and Trade: *England* I say, out-does *France* now in all those things, I do not mean comparatively with reference to their respective Bigness or Extent, but absolutely, yet there may be more

People in *France*, reckoning the Women and Children; and so by this reason, though the French King should not have over-charged his Subjects so horribly as he hath done, he ought always to have had formerly more Revenue than the King of *England*.

As for the other Points, it was never a sign or an effect of Poverty in the Nation, that the Revenues of the Kings of *England*, their Court, and their Palace were comparatively so small; for if the Kings and Parliaments had judged it fit, they might easily have altered things, and put them upon another foot, the Nation being Wealthy, and abounding much more in rich Nobility and Gentry than *France*, who can plentifully subsist of themselves, without the Places and Benefits of the Court, whereas the Nobility of *France* is generally so poor that it cannot subsist otherwise, and it is this, that makes the French Court so much frequented by the Nobility, as well as by great numbers of the general Officers of the Forces which that King maintains even in time of Peace, which exceed always two hundred thousand Men, and mightily vex and crush the People; if things stand otherwise disposed in *England*, 'tis an effect of the Genius and Form of that Government, which has produced that admirable effect which we see; that whereas *France* is utterly and irrecoverably destroyed by the Absolute Power of her Monarch, the King of *England* on the contrary finds in the heart and good

good affection of his Subjects, who live plentifully, all Subsidies necessary to supply the Wants of the Government, and support the War, as long as will be found convenient.

Some perhaps who cannot contradict the Reasons which I have offered to prove that *England* ought to be more populous even at present than *France* ever was, will perhaps dispute the matter of Fact, and say, that it has been depopulated by the Colonies in *Ireland*, the Plantations in the *West-Indies*, by the Civil Wars both in *England* and *Ireland*, by the great Massacre in the latter, and by the Plague which did carry off so much People. To which I answer, That there is no comparison between the Loss of Men in *England* by the Civil War, and the Loss of Men in *France* upon the same account; for I dare say *France* has lost ten to one.

But I answer further, That it does not in the least invalidate the Proofs from matter of Fact which I have produced, and need not repeat here, which prove demonstratively, that *England* is really more populous than *France* ever was. I grant however, that if it were not for the things objected, *England* should be more populous than it is. And I am of that Opinion in particular, that the Plantations in the *West-Indies* have done a great prejudice to *England* in that respect. But I affirm also, that the Civil Wars in *France*, which lasted much longer than they did in *England*, the violent

and frequent Persecutions for Religion, not without general and particular Massacres, the Plague and Mortality, of which it has not been free neither; its Plantations in *America* also, and so many great and long Wars abroad without necessity, have depopulated *France* much more. But especially the enormous Impositions of *France*, the Methods of raising them, the stupendious multitude of Soldiers that have been kept of long time, the great multitude of Lawyers, and other innumerable Civil Officers, that of the *Maltotiers*, that is to say, a great Army of Rascals and Thieves subservient to the Farmers of the Impositions, and so many other things, some of which I mentioned before. All those things, I say, are enough to convince any rational and unbiassed person, that *France* could not be so populous thirty years ago, as *England* is even now. But above all, I desire that what I proposed above concerning the fatal effects of Popery in that Kingdom, might be well weighed. Let us conclude then, that *England* is, and ought to be more populous than *France* ever was, in the time of its greatest splendor.

So that there is a great Paradox well proved. The World is full of such gross mistakes, but I hope I shall prove several other such Paradoxes, before I die.

But some will object and say, Are not we also reduced to great Extremities in *England*? Are not the Affairs of our Coin, Exchequer
and

and Banks, in an ill condition? And is not our Army likewise unpaid? I confess indeed that a great many people suffer in *England* by the ill State of the Coin; but 'tis neither an effect of the War, nor yet of any decay of the Riches of the Kingdom; for if it had, all this misfortune would have happened a year ago, for 'tis known, that a twelve-month ago the Affairs of the Kingdom were in such a flourishing condition, that it was thought fit to Re-form the Coin in the heat of the War, and to Establish several great Banks in the Nation, so that we may justly say, that this Accident is a bad effect of the good condition of the Kingdom, to which the same thing hath happened that usually befalls those, who finding themselves in a better state of health than ordinary, attempt to make some great Effort by which they find themselves injured, either because the thing is too great for them, or because they do not make use of the best Methods to perform it, or that they are crossed in it. However, all the Riches that were in *England* before that time, are in it still. This was also an effect of the too great Indulgence used commonly towards a great number of wicked people in this Kingdom for want of strict Discipline, and a necessary Severity, amongst which there was an incredible number of Clippers, both Men and Women; 'tis they who have done this mischief, to which the *Stock-Jobbers* have also contributed, and the

Effects of it would have been very bad, even in a time of Peace. Yet we may venture to say, that all this would not have done much hurt, if there had been a competent number of Coiners in the Tower, to have Re coined the Clipped Money in a Month's time, for that Money, having been a great while useless in the Tower and Exchequer, hath added to the Mischievous Consequences of it. As for the rest, tho' the People have suffered for a year past, and do suffer still very much by it, that is not to be compared to the Sufferings which the People of *France* have laboured under ever since the beginning of this War, and before it.

I would fain know of the Gentlemen, who make this Objection, how many People there are in *England*, that, because of this, do sell their Plate to Goldsmiths, or who spend less at their Tables, or in Recreations and Diversifements, than they did before. Are the Lands and Houses either sold, or Farmed at easier rates, or are Provisions which are plentiful, much fallen in their price? for all the Money is so scarce amongst the People. Tho' they grumble sufficiently at the scarcity of the Coin, yet they are sensible that the disease is not very great. And indeed, in all the other States of Europe, it would be remedied in two days time, by making use of Authority. But in *England* the King and Parliament do in all their conduct, avoid the least appearance of constraint

constraint, even where it would be very useful, because their Affairs are in such a condition as they may easily forbear it. But to return to the Clippers, they have diminished the Silver-Coin, it may be, by about 3 Millions Sterling; but this is not an Absolute Loss to the Kingdom, if it be a loss at all, seeing 'tis probable, that all, or the greatest part of that Metal remains still in the Nation; And it is very likely, nay, certain, that they had Multiplied the Species of Silver, because several of them were also Coiners, who did make of an Unclip'd Half Crown or Shilling, two of the same Species, and 'tis probable, that had it not been for 'em, the Silver-Species would have been less copious than it was. However, 'tis an easie matter to make up that want, by melting part of the Plate of the Nation, which is excessive in quantity; and suppose 3 Millions Sterling lost by the Clippers, it would be but inconsiderable to a Kingdom, which may be worth 800 Millions Sterling; I mean all the Real and Personal-Estates, with the People and Their Industry. What comparison then is there to be made between this Kingdom and that of *France*, whereof the Estates Real and Personal are generally sunk above the two-thirds in Revenue, and much more in the Capital Stock, as I have already demonstrated, and where above two-third parts of all the Working-men are destroyed; whereas in *England* the Real and Personal-Estates

are increased in value, as every body knows, without any scarcity of Provisions, and even under the scarcity of Money so much complained of.

This is the true Touch-stone of the Good or Bad Condition of a Kingdom, to try whether the Real and Personal-Estates Decrease or Increase in Value. So that there can be no more comparison between *England* and *France* as to that, than between a very healthful and lusty Man, and one who is in a deep Consumption. 'Tis known also, that all Foreign Trade is totally lost in *France*, except a little in the Streights, whereas in *England* it is otherwise. 'Tis true the *French* Privateers are troublesome, but I shall shew in its proper place, that they bring no benefit to *France*. 'Tis also true, that the Publick Taxes in *England* did not bring in any thing near of what was expected from them, but this must be imputed to the casual Interruption of the course of the Money, and partly to the negligence and indulgence of Assessors and Collectors, which is so very great, that there is nothing like it in the Universal World, nor would it be thought credible any where else. For they favour whom they please, and dispose more freely of the Publick Revenues, than they do of their own, which denotes not only the Extream Indulgence of the Government, but also that the People are very far from suffering, as they do in all Countries, especially in *France*, since there's

there's not the least shadow of severity or hardship, used towards them; and besides, the People themselves are in a manner the Umpires and Arbitrators, who, and what every one must pay; and the truth is, they dispense with many thousands of People from paying any thing, who live better than a great many in *France*, who are obliged to pay every year 50 and 100 Pounds to the *French* King. How should this Nation be fallen into Poverty, since 'tis the Nation it self, represented by those who are supposed to be the Wisest Men in the Kingdom, viz the Great Council of the Nation Assembled in Parliament, which chuses the Imposts that are most proper, and which fixes and regulates the Sums, and who themselves pay cheerfully their *quota* of the said Sums, proportionably to every One's Estate, and not as in *France*, where they, who order and regulate the Taxes, enrich themselves thereby, and pay nothing; they make part of the People themselves, and should put an end to the War, by advising the King to make Peace, and denying Subsidies, if they found them ruinous or unnecessary to the Nation.

Some simple People, especially Foreigners, are apt to think sometimes, when they see the Parliament spend time in deliberating upon Ways and Means to raise Money to carry on the War with vigour, that 'tis a sign that the Nation is exhausted, and that they do not know what to do, but it is a gross mistake.

'Tis

'Tis so in *France* indeed, when they are long in their Deliberations about the Impositions, 'tis a sign of great Misery in that Kingdom, for they have no regard to, nor commiseration of any body, nor of any condition of People; the Despotical Authority cuts in pieces, tears and devours all without distinction. It is a military Government without Compassion. But here in *England* they do not do all that they could do, for if they had, *France* would have been very low long before this, but they do what is most proper and convenient, and most agreeable to the humours, dispositions or interests of the People in general, and of every Province and Town; nay, we may almost say of every individual Person, like an impartial Father in his Family.

There are some Impositions practised in all other Nations with great Success, which the Parliament of *England* has always forbore, through a tender indulgence to the People; as for example, the general Excise, which would bring in many Millions, as well as many particular Excises upon several things, which are established in all other Nations, even in time of Peace, to a high degree, but especially in *France*, where they amount sometimes to above twice the value of the Excised Commodity. And the truth is, that there are a hundred Ways and Means which might be practised in *England*, as they are in all other Nations, if it were not for the great Lenity of the Government

vernment towards the People. But for all this, it is true, that the Shop-keepers, Handicrafts and other Work-men have suffered, especially in *London*; as has also the Army for want of Payment, and those who lent Money to the King or the Banks, because of the scarcity of the Species, which made every one to keep up what Money they had, and to look upon it as much more precious than before; insomuch that they would not part with it. But all those Tradesmen, Shop-keepers, and others who had put their Money in the Exchequer or Banks, had either Credit, or some Real or Personal-Estates, and pay either but small Taxes, or none at all, or had some Money left them, whereas in *France* that sort of Men, especially Handicrafts and Labourers, have nothing at all, not so much as a Bed to lye upon, and are besides over-laden with Taxes, and have been forced for the most part to serve in the Armies and perish there; as for those who lent Money to the *French* King, there is no hopes of their recovering their Due, neither Principal nor Interest, for all the Stocks of the Kingdom are consumed, whereas in *England* those who lent their Money to the King, have all the Nation for their security, so that they will not lose a Farthing. There are but few Tradesmen and Handicrafts in *England*, but have some pieces of Plate or other, which they could sell if they had been truly in want, and I dare say, there is scarce one in two hundred who

who has sold it, tho' they did not fail of crying out against the Taxes, the scarcity of Money and want of Trade, because they are not used to suffer in the least.

In *France* those sort of Men are not only without Plate, but the most part of the wealthiest of the Kingdom, who had abundance on't formerly, have none at all now, and those who have any yet left, have but very little, for a great many of them had sold it, even before this War, to supply their wants, because of the decay of all their Estates.

As to the scarcity of the Coin in *England*, I believe, if a narrow enquiry were made into that Affair, which would be quickly done in another Nation, it would be found that there is perhaps as much Money in *England* at present, reckoning Gold-Coin and Plate, as ever there was of all those Species before the War. For though it cannot be denied, but that great Sums of Money, either in Species or in Bills, which is all one, is conveyed out of the Kingdom, as well for maintaining our Army in *Flanders*, as for some of our Allies; 'tis probable also, that as much at least is returned from *Holland* and *Flanders*, and other Countries, for the Commodities which they take from us in greater quantity, than they did before the War, which causes all the Products of *England* to sell well; Without mentioning what we spare from *France* in time of War; for it is known, we were over-ballanced by them in Trade

Trade by several Millions Sterling, which, with the Travels of our People into their Country, did Decrease us of vast Sums Yearly, and we have now all their Manufactures settled here by the *Refugies*, by the occasion of this War, and a better Trade with *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and all the rest of the World.

It's plain, that our Trade to the *Spanisk-Netherlands* is greater than ever, for a great part of that Country being Untilled, by reason of the War, the Inhabitants, who formerly lived upon their own product, are now for the most part supplied from *England*, as are also the 15000 Men extraordinary, which are every Year in those Countries, belonging to the several Armies, besides what we furnish them in Horses, Cloathing and Fewel; And if there is less Silver-Coin in *England*, 'tis likely there is more Gold, and Plate than before the War.

What I say as to the Plate, must not be taken as a Paradox, for this reason, *viz.* that most of the Clippings were converted into Plate; for the number of Clippers both Men and Women, was so great in the Kingdom, that it cannot be doubted but that the most part of them sold their Clippings to the Goldsmiths, who were privy to their Crime, at any easie rate, and that they got Plate from them for part of the payment, and Unclip'd Money for the other part, and the Goldsmiths did turn the Clippings over again into other Plate. It cannot be otherwise, unless we will suppose that

that all those Clippers were eminent Trading-men, who did convey the Silver-Ingots to Foreign Countries, which is against Experience; for the most part of those Clippers were of the vulgar sort, and this cannot be practised by such kind of People, and especially by those who do not live in *London*. I remember that upon this Subject, I have heard some honest Gold-Smiths complain, that they were every day obliged against their will to sell their Plate to several People, who paid them in Money horribly Clipped, which they could not refuse because it was currant, and that oftentimes the Money that they received did not weigh above the half of the Plate which they sold for it.

But altho' the melting of that Clipped, has diminished the quantity, not of the Metal, but of the Species, yet many do fancy that there is less of them remaining than really there is, and there are several reasons which make people fancy so. First, Because there is still a considerable quantity which is to be Melted, and lies unprofitable to Trade as long as it does not come out. Secondly, People observing that they are suddenly reduced from a plenty of Species, to a scarcity of the same, are apt to judge, that the Kingdom is altogether ruined, which causes all those who have unclipped Money or Gold by them, to put a greater estimate upon it, as I insinuated before, than they did formerly, and to keep it more close; so that neither that which is
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in the Exchequer or the Mint does appear, nor yet that which is in the hand of private persons. And they are confirmed in their opinion by the *Stock Jobbers*, who very much raise the value of ready Money, and do for their own Interest bring a disrepute upon the Affairs of the Kingdom, making people believe, that the Mischief is much greater than really it is. So that every one keeps his Money more narrowly, and gathers up all that which falls into his hands, and takes occasion upon pretence of the publick scarcity of Money, and upon the general complainr that no body now pays Debts, to buy all upon Trust, and so neither pay their own Debts, nor Taxes, tho' they be very well provided with Money. Several people have experienced, that the general noise of the scarcity of Money, caused some of their Customers and Debtors, tho' well stored with it, to put off their Payment from week to week, and month to month, under pretence that they had none, and yet they paid them exactly as soon as the Guineas were at thirty shillings, and that they heard they would fall; and the same was also found when the broad old Money was ready to be cryed down, as also when the hammered Money did follow the same fate. For then a great many people who kept abundance of it hoarded up, began to buy what they wanted, and to pay their Debts. And to that purpose, I dare say, that two Millions of Pounds Coined out of all the
Plate

Plate of the Nation (which amounts perhaps to five or six Millions Sterling) would, with what is already Coined, make three or four Millions of invisible Coin in the Nation to come out, like a little Water powr'd into the Pump, helps to draw a great deal more of it out of a Ship. That Opinion of the Poverty of the Kingdom is also abetted and countenanced by the ill-affected Party, and the said *Stock-Jobbers* to the utmost degree, so that many even of the well-affected are inclined to fancy so too, for want of a due examination of the matter.

Further, several of the Malcontents do hoard up Money for several bad purposes. Besides, it must be acknowledged, that many honest people, seeing the eagerness of our Enemies against the King's Life, are afraid that he may be Assassinated, and that then a fatal Revolution may insue from it, which makes them keep up their Money that they may help themselves with it in such an Extremity. 'Tis said also, that the Country-Farmers, who never did thrive better than since this War, have hoarded up much of it. Some say also, that multitudes of Bankrupts carry it away more than ever, to Priviledg'd Places. These, with some others of the same kind, are the Reasons which occasions the scarcity of Money amongst the People, and that the Army, and those who have Lent Money to the King are not paid, and not the War, nor the Taxes, which have
been

been very ill paid this year, tho' very moderate to what they are in other States and Countries now in War, for their Subjects pay much more in time of Peace than the English Nation does in this time of War. I do not mean the French, who are perfect Slaves, but even the Dutch, whose Lands and Houses pay generally and constantly, since the War, about three quarters of their Revenue, besides the hundredth Penny of the Stock which they pay twice sometimes in the year, besides the general Excise upon all things whatsoever, and many other Impositions. So that 'tis visible that the said Scarcity of the Currant Coin, and the above-mentioned ill Effects of it, has not proceeded from any real decay in the Stock of *England*, but from the Lenity of the Government; &c. as before-mentioned.

If the Nation had suffered for want of Coin before the Clipped Money was cryed down, the Great Council of the Nation would not have cryed it down, or they might have caused the Plate to be melted; such a thing was done in *France* 5 years ago, but upon very disadvantageous conditions to the Subjects, for they were forced to carry their Plate to the Mint, as also all the old Coin, both Gold and Silver, on pain of a total confiscation of all they kept by them; For which, instead of ready Money they received at the Mint a Paper, mentioning the quantity of the Plate and old Coin brought in by such a one, and subscribed by the Officers

of the Mint, with promise that their due would be paid in some Months time, without any Interest. But when the time was elapsed, they came hundreds of times before they could receive any Money; and when they received it, they were obliged to lose the 6th part of their Plate and Money: Others could not get one penny, but when the Sum owing them was considerable, they were forced to lend it the King, and they noted as rich Persons.

Let Man compare such proceedings with those of the Parliament here, who had proposed to give five shillings and eight pence for the Ounce of Plate, and to pay the Interest of it, without constraining any Man to bring it in against his own will.

If any Men say that *France* did it without need, he speaks mighty injuriously of that King and his Counsel, for why should he have given so much trouble to his People, and made them lose so much, if he did not need Money? for he has done it twice within this five or six years; the first rise of the Money was 5 *d* per Crown, and the second was 7 *d*. more, in all twelve pence upon every Crown, and the same upon all other Species, both of Gold and Silver in proportion; why should he have so much discredited his own Affairs without great reason? for there is nothing that does more prejudice to a Nation's Credit, than such a practice. And never any wise Prince or Nation did

did use such Methods, without great necessity, I mean to raise the value of the Coin, with such a great loss to the People. This method is looked on by Politicians, as the Emetik-Wine is by Physicians, who do not use to Administer it but in violent Diseases, or as the *Anchora sacra* of the Heathens, which was cast only when they thought the Ship was ready to be Shipwrack'd without it. And this would be so much the more injurious to the *French* King, that he has engaged in this War without necessity, and that when he is pleased to give satisfaction to King *William*, and to his Allies, as to what he hath taken from them; the Peace may be concluded easily. The *English* indeed ought to spend their Estates and Lives to the last Man, in such a War as this, because their Religion, Liberties, Estates and Lives lye at a stake, but the *French* K. has no such thing to fear from the Allies; they desire nothing from him but what belongs *de jure* to 'em. We must acknowledge that Absolute Authority is a dangerous Weapon, even to those who make use of it, for you may see to what extremities and shifts it has brought not only the Kingdom of *France*, but also the King himself. We must grant also, that 'tis an admirable *Resource*, if so be it could last long, but 'tis like a vehement Feaver and Burning, which gives strength for a little while to the Body which is agitated by it, and causes the person to make astonishing Efforts, but wasts

him away in a little time. Or like the Possession of some Persons, possessed by Evil Spirits, who will go an hundred Leagues in less time than others can go ten, but at the Journey's end find themselves so bruised, that they can never recover again.

This Arbitrary Power, as 'tis exercised at this day in *France*, has the same apparent advantage for a little time, over a wise and moderate Government, as to Pride and Ostentation, as a Spendthrift who devours all his Stock, has over another, who may be as rich or richer than he, but is contented to spend less than his ordinary Revenue, and lays part of it by for future emergencies, and making good the losses that may befall him: It is ordinary for the Vulgar to speak of, and admire the former much more than the latter, and that the former may do, and many times really does, extraordinary things in comparison of the other, tho' very often below the vast Expences and the great Efforts that he makes. But all this glory which he purchases by it, is but of a short duration, and the applause he gets too is only from Fools; whereas the praise of a good Husband endures for ever; The first ruins his Family, and will be infallibly hated and detested by all wise Men, even when he makes the greatest noise in the World and thinks himself to be the most admired, and at last also by the vulgar People who admired him at first, when they see Himself and his Family ruined by

by his Vanity and Folly. And all Posterity will make the same Judgment of him.

If a Sovereign employs his Despotical Authority to destroy and lay waste his People by Tyranny, and his Neighbours by War; he is like to incur the same fate, which we have observed in several great Wranglers at Law in *France*, who being born with a considerable Estate, and some Vigour of Mind, did raise unjust Suits against all their Neighbours, because they were well provided with Knavish and Skilful Attorneys and understood the wranglings and formalities of Justice themselves. They had an incomparable Talent to prosecute and make all other People mad, and to attain their own ends. Every body was surprized to see them charged with so many Suits at once, and that they got the best in almost all of them, tho' their Causes were unjust, and that some of their Adversaries had as much skill and wit as they had themselves; So that they carried now a Farm, and then a House or a Field from their Neighbours, and were loaden with all their Spoil.

But it came to pass at last, that after some years, the said Wranglers were utterly ruined, and reduced to beggary; tho' they did as yet appear to be in possession of some Lands and Houses, but they were over-whelmed with debts, then those who had lost their Estates with them at Law, did find ways to recover them,

because the Wranglers had not wherewithal to support their Unjustice any further. The reason why they gained all their Causes, was not only that they had very skillful Attorneys, and at the same time great Knaves, who could forge false Titles, but that they spared no cost to bribe and corrupt those of the other side, and placed their glory in conquering so by any means whatsoever, tho' the Expences did very much exceed the value of the thing in question. Whereas their Neighbours, tho' as wealthy, and more prudent than they, trusting to the Justice of their Causes, contented themselves to defray the ordinary Charges of Law-Suits, and made use of no means but what were honest and lawful, being unwilling to incommode their Affairs, and ruine their Families, and besides, they could not believe that their Adversaries would make use of such tricks, which would cost them very dear, and were able to ruine them, and that for a trifle sometimes, which was the ground of their Debates. Every body did commend the honesty of the latter, tho' they lost their Cause, and did curse the conduct of the unjust Wrangler, except some ill Men, as unjust as himself, or some who got advantage and profit by his Unjustice, and the Monks and Priests to whom he made Presents, and did enter himself into their Fraternities, to the end they should speak well of him, and made them believe, that when he brought an Action against such a one, and such a one,

to get their Lands from them, he did it with intent to bestow the same upon the Church. Such Wranglers have often been seen in *France*, who ruined themselves in that manner, amongst whom there was one that did all those things that I have mentioned, and to repair in some manner his Reputation, did think fit to make himself a Priest at last. Another gave the little remnant he had kept of his Estate to the Monks, depriving his Family of it, that he might at least be commended by them, and did apply himself to the persecuting of the *Huguenots*, which gain'd him the hearts of the Clergy, while all the honest among the Papists themselves detested him more and more.

I am assured, whatever the Friends of *France* and the Foes of *England*, may think on't, that if so be the *French* King did govern in *England*, with the same Authority he does in *France*, which God forbid, he could raise more easily 25 Millions Sterling in it Yearly during some years, than he can 16 at present in *France*. My reason is, that *England* is worth much more now than *France*, as I have already said.

But some will ask, how the *French* King with all his Authority, could find such Sums Yearly in *England*, seeing there is not so much Money in the Nation, and that 'tis impossible to find Money where there is none.

I answer, he would find out ways enough to make People to get it, tho' there was none. I have said already, that Money was wanting in

France 5 years ago, seeing he commanded the Plate to be carried to the Mint, and forced every one to carry their old Coin to be Stamped a-new, and then raised the value of it. This has been done twice in 6 years time, as was said before, and yet he finds Money still, tho' there has been abundance conveyed out of the Kingdom every year, as 'tis easie to conceive, for Horses from *Germany* and other Countries, for Naval-Stores, for Corn in the year of the great Famine, for the *Turks*, for the *Pope*, and all the Court of *Rome* for *Denmark* and *Sweden*, for the *Switzers*, and for the *French* Army in *Piedmont*, which has carried out of *France* abundance of Money that will never return, besides what has been carried out for Foreign Fish, and other necessities, and for all their Correspondencies abroad, &c. 'Tis one of those Miracles of Absolute Power, of which I spoke already, that they have found out in that Country the way to multiply the Money without increasing the quantity of it, by causing it to pass by a quick and violent circulation twenty times a year, thro' the King's hands. Which is thus. There are, as is well known, a thousand sorts of Impositions and Taxes, both Publick and Private in *France*, as soon as one, or a quarter of one is paid by the People, 'tis presently distributed for the use of the War, or to pay some Pensions or Rents, one way or other, and as soon as 'tis in the People's hands, 'tis got out of them again in some Weeks,

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Days or Hours by another Imposition, and so continually from one end of the Year to the other.

There is scarce any other Circulation of Money in the Kingdom. In this consists almost all its Trade: People fancy when they hear of so many great Squadrons of Men of War, as the News tell us, are equipped in *France*, that the King must have vast Sums of Money in his hands, and that Money must be plentiful in the Kingdom, because they think that things are governed there as they are here, where we have but a small number of general Impositions regulated all at once by the Parliament, and very moderate in respect of what they are in other Nations, as also in respect of the Wealth of the Kingdom, and which are raised in a gentle way, without great charge to the Subject. But in *France* the Taxes are without number, they are not only General and Publick, but Particular and Private upon Private Corporations, Orders and Ranks of Men, and private Persons, and upon all those in general, who are presumed to have Money or some considerable Estate, who, many times are forced to pay to the King, not the 100th or 200th penny, but the third part, or the half of all their Stock, and sometimes all that they have. Formerly they were all regulated at the beginning of the Year, but at present they are set up every Month, Week, Day, and Hour of the Year, according to the wants of the Court

Court, and when one falls short of what they expected, then presently comes out another, or some new Offices are created, and some hundreds or thousands of Men forced to buy them, whether they have Money or no, or many thousands of other private Persons, are forced to pay the Taxes of easie, *i. e.* wealthy Men, *gens aisés*, as they call them, tho' they be already ruined.

But nevertheless, I must confess, that I think there was more Money in *France* 30 years ago, than there was in *England*, and this for several reasons.

The great Impositions upon the People in *France*, and the great severities practised against the insolvent, obliged the People to live frugally, and to work hard, and to gather up Money for the said Taxes as fast as they could by all means, which caused the Money to remain in the Kingdom, and made the People very industrious for some forty or fifty years, having a great Trade with *England* and *Holland*, and did draw in Money from Foreign Countries. Besides, there were many more Men that hoarded up Money in *France* than in *England*, where, because of the great Trade of the Nation, it is most in the hands of Merchants, Goldsmiths, and Trading-people, and goes from hand to hand very quick; for Money did always circulate much more in *England* than in *France*, because of the great Trade, and that the Nation commonly lays out prodigious Sums of Money

Money in Foreign Commodities. So that there is at all times an incredible quantity of imported Goods in Store-houses that drains the Money from *England*, and especially for *French* Commodities in time of Peace, for 'tis easie to conceive, that such a Nation as this, in such a rich and plentiful Country, and under such an indulgent Government, and paying almost nothing for the maintaining of it, is apt to spend in Foreign extravagant Dresses, Delicacies, Baubles and Trinkets, and in all their Travels into *France*, and any where else, what Money other Nations are used to pay to their Government, and especially the *French* Nation, oppressed continually with Taxes for the maintaining of their K's splendid Court, and of his numerous Armies. For altho' the King of *France* did convey yearly abundance of Money out of his Kingdom upon his Intrigues, Alliances, and Correspondencies abroad, yet his People drew in a great deal more Money from *England* and other Nations; than they spent a long time. For they suffered very few Commodities to be imported into their Kingdom, especially from *England*, charging their Commodities with horrid Impositions; So that they did pay to their Customs very near half the value of the Commodity, as I could justifie; when at the same time *England* was glutted with an infinite quantity of dear, superfluous, vain and noxious things from *France*. So that by those ways *England* was over-ballanced by
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several Millions Sterling Yearly, in their Trade by the *French*, who did plunder us and other Neighbouring Nations, who were not wise enough in that respect. And then that Money by the circulation did pass thro' the hands of an infinite number of thrifty and frugal People in *France* who did hoard it up.

If the *English* Nation had forborn all those excesses in Importations, especially from *France*, and kept good Order and Discipline in that and other things, Money would have been much more plentiful in *England*, and much less in *France*, for this, and the continual Travels of the *English* Nobility and Gentry into that Country, did very much contribute to raise *France*.

Another cause of their rise and first-growth, was the Establishment of the Republick of *Holland*; for after it was settled, and the Peace made with the Spaniards, the States finding themselves very rich in People and Money, by the great multitudes that had retired thither from the Spanish Netherlands for shelter against the D. of *Alba's* Tyranny, and seeing the Land was not able to furnish them with Victuals, nor to improve their Money, they betook themselves to the French Trade, and by degrees became the general Carriers of *France*, which obliged the French to Till their Ground better than they had done before; and finding the sweetness of Foreign Money, they were by degrees brought also to Cultivate

vate all sorts of Manufactures, which the Dutch did carry likewise over all the World, till at last the French taking advantage of the Weakness of the Neighbouring Princes, they imposed Laws upon their Subjects. Before that great Revolution *France* and her Kings were very poor, and the English much too strong for them, and had, for the most part, the advantage of them in all the Wars; so that it has been a great mistake in the Politicks of *France*, to declare War against these two Nations, who did enrich her so prodigiously, and could easily ruine her being United together. But the Court of *Rome* became in these last Times mightily afraid of the French King's Power, therefore she thought necessary to give it a Diversion; and as that Court does watch for opportunities to make advantage of all things, and to bring down even the Popish Princes, when they begin to be afraid of them, and influencing them all by secret Ways, Springs, and Wheels, especially by their Confessors, they have made use of the Jesuits, who pay a blindfold Obedience to their General, as he does to the Pope, to put the French King, whom they knew ambitious, upon the design of subverting the Protestant Religion in *England, Holland, France, &c.* as the most glorious thing he could ever undertake, thinking that either he should succeed in it, and bring all those People under the Pope's Yoke, or else that he should break his Neck in that design, and

and ruine his Kingdom, whose Power was terrible to the Court of *Rome*, because of the King's prodigious Authority, as also because he had threatned the Popes several times. And the truth is, that all the honest Men of the Roman Religion in *France*, had for a long time great hopes that he should have shaken off that Yoke.

The Power and Riches of *England* do not depend upon such Casualties as those mentioned before, I mean such a Revolution as fell out in *Holland*, and the Weakness of Neighbouring Princes, or the like; for the Power of *England* is settled on a solid and constant Basis, that is, the advantages of her Soil, Situation, Religion and Government, far above all the advantages of *France*: Insomuch that as often as *England* had any good King or Queen, it did always make *France* to tremble; and *England* might be a great deal more powerful and rich if some impediments and clogs to its Power and Strength, which are meerly contingent, and easie to take away, were removed; but I dare not mention them as yet.

Those People whom I said, did Treasure up Money in *France*, did it for several reasons:

First, To pay the great Publick and Private Taxes that they are liable to now and then, which failing, they are in danger to be ruined, or to lose all their Credit.

Secondly, To buy some Offices if they had none, or more considerable ones, if they had any.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, To be admitted Farmers of the Impositions, where ready Money was absolutely necessary, and the Profits unspeakable.

Fourthly, To buy the Estates of Noblemen, &c. at an easie rate, for the Nobility have ever been at a low Ebb, under this Reign, liable to a thousand Vexations, and forced to sell their Estates cheap to pay their Debts and get Money to live.

Fifthly, Because of the Ruine of the Nobility and Gentry, saving Men did keep their Money up in their Coffers, because they could find no good security to lend it upon, for those reasons, I say, there was much Money hoarded up in *France*.

Sixthly, A great many desired to purchase Nobility for Money, Others to be rehabilitated in their Nobility, which they had forfeited by Merchandizing, or otherwise: And others saved Money to buy some Governments, or Offices in the *Militia*, &c. which *Lewis* the XIV. has found means to bring out, by his violent and extraordinary Impositions and Extortions, since the beginning of this last War.

If the *French* King should conquer *England*, as I said before, which God forbid, he would work Miracles here, and cause Money to be found where there is none, and all the whole form of the Nation would be suddenly and absolutely altered. He would convert the Luxury, Licentiousness, and all the several sorts of Debauchery in the Nation, into Money,
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by Taxing the guilty Persons. He would suffer little or no Importation of Goods from any other place but *France*. And by that means the Nation would be able to pay him greater Impositions and Taxes. All the fine Cattle with which *England* doth so much abound, would be transported and sold for Money; as also their Plate, Jewels, Household-goods, Ships, &c. The Nation would not be suffered to spend so much in Cloathing, in Silks, fine Linnen, Delicacies and Wines of all sorts. All their fine Woollen-cloth Stuffs, Leather, &c. would be applied to his own use, and converted into Money. And it may be he would appropriate to himself the Mineral Grounds as belonging to the Sovereign, as the Gold and Silver Mines are commonly judged to be. The Common-people should not be suffered to feed any more upon good Meat, but upon Roots and Whey, and the Blood and Livers of Oxen, Brown-bread, and Water instead of Beer and Ale; Wooden-shoes instead of Leather; coarse Canvas instead of fine Linnen. The Money would be only employed in maintaining great Armies, and multitudes of Priests and Monks. And in a word, he would pursue the same methods of Government, that he does in *France*.

But some may object again, that since the beginning of this War, we hear nothing but a parcel of idle Stories about the ill State of Affairs in *France*, and we see, notwithstanding the

the *French* King holds out still, and is as powerful as ever.

This is just like the Opinion that People do commonly entertain of a Man that lives high and eats up his Stock. That Man, for example, may have two thousand Pounds Sterling *per Annum* and spends five thousand every Year. The understanding Men who know his Estate, say, that he ruins himself ; Other People who hear them say so, and yet see him continuing to live at the same rate for ten or twelve Years together, will say, this Man holds out still, and we see that he is a Man of good sense, who manages his Expences well, and therefore they conclude he is richer than he is commonly reported. So that they cannot be undeceived in the matter, till they see him in the Goal.

The Extravagant Notions which most People have of the *French* King's Power, are such, that if so be things did answer their fancy, that *Kingdom* ought to be ten or twelve times bigger than *England*, have ten or twelve times as much People, be ten or twelve times more fruitful, better situated and fitted for Trade, and richer also than *England*.

'Tis a hard matter to convince such People of their errour, who have neither any true Idea of *France* nor of *England*, but only some prejudicated Opinions, which have no other ground but the good Esteem they have of their own sense, without any solid or distinct principle, and who do never reflect upon experi-

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ence, nor upon what hath happened before their own Eyes. Have we not seen that since the War, which the French King declared against the Dutch in 1672. the Land-Estates in *France* have been continually decaying more and more, as I insinuated already, because of the great Efforts the Kingdom did make at that time, and of the interruption of Trade? But what was that War, compared to this, which had been besides preceded by a general and cruel Persecution of the Protestants over all the Kingdom, which had disturbed all the Trade of it?

Do not they remember what the Spaniards, when alone in War with *France*, did about fifty years ago, when they laid under Contribution the very Suburbs of *Paris*, and did often carry away the Citizens of that Place Prisoners? Have they forgot that the Germans, about 20 years ago, did take several Towns from the French in *Alsatia*, and that they Defeated part of the *Arrier-Ban* of *France* in *Lorrain*, and that the Duke of Zell took the Town of *Treves* from the French, after he had Routed the *Mareschal de Crequy*. 'Tis certain *France* did make very great Efforts then, since which she never could recover her self; and that she was much richer, and more populous then than she is now. How came it to pass that she could not then resist such small Armies? Have they forgotten also how that the Dutch alone made several Provinces of *France* to tremble,

tremble, when they Invaded the Isle of *Narmoutier*, whereby all their Coasts were kept in Alarm, about 20 years ago: Since that time have we not seen in this War the Germans to take *Bonne* and *Mentz*? who can believe that that Kingdom is richer now, and more populous than it was then?

And what if they should continue yet two years longer with greater forces than they have done hitherto? must we believe therefore that they are in a better condition? Have we not seen the French chased away from *Ireland* some years ago, meerly because of their Weakness and want of Power? we cannot say that they did not care to maintain themselves there; how came it to pass then, if *France* be really so powerful, that it did not make greater Efforts to keep that Kingdom? for it had been a fatal Blow to *England*, and to all the Confederacy, *un coup de partie*, as the French call it: But, instead of shewing their great Power there, their Forces were not paid, and they were obliged to Coin Copper-Money instead of Silver, and did plunder and ruine the Papists of *Ireland* their best Friends. Any body conversant in History, knows that the Spanish-Power was for a great time Superior to the *French*, which obliged the Kings of *France* to desire the assistance of the *English*; insomuch that, in order to endear themselves to them, they all required to be Knights of the Garter, from *Lewis* the XII. to *Henry* the IV. and no

body is Ignorant, that for many years they paid a kind of Tribute to the Kings of *England*; and had it not been for the Dissentions of the *English* at home, which brought their Forces away from *France*, 'tis probable they should have Lorded over *France* to this very day. 'Tis also well known, that even long after the Discovery of *America* by the *Spaniards*, and the opening of their Gold and Silver Mines, *H. the IV.* did never get from his People above 20 Millions of Livers, and *Lewis the XIII.* about 70, tho' the oppression of the People was then very great; and that *Lewis the XI.* tho' a great Tyrant, could not get above 4 Millions Yearly from his Subjects. And if we may judge of the Revenues of *France*, by that of *Lewis the XIth's* Expences, they were small enough at that time, for there was found a reckoning in the Chamber of Accounts at *Paris*, of 2 s. for new Sleeves to his old Doublet, and three half pence for Liquor to grease his Boots. Unless People will fancy that *France* grows richer, and gets strength by this War.

Duris ut ilex caesa bipennibus
 Horat. *Per saxa, per ignes, ab ipso*
Ducit opes, animumque ferro.

But if it be so, how comes it to pass that she sets all her wits at work to procure a Peace? She who did always boast that she gave it to all the World. How is it that since some years
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we have seen many Conspiracies against *King William's* Life? How is it that we hear from all parts, that all her People is reduced to the last gasp? Not to repeat what I have said already of their Plate, converted into Coin many years ago by the King's Command, and of the Coin raised twice since the War. There are many severe and violent Impositions, and Publick and Private Taxes, which cross and destroy one another. As for example, they have sold some thousands of Offices to People, who were unwilling to buy them, and when the Court had received their Money, they were abrogated under pretence that they were chargeable to the Kingdom, as indeed they were, and some Months after they forced others again to buy them. They have done the same by several thousands who were forced to buy Letters of the Nobility, and when the Money was delivered, some time after there was a Declaration from the King. That all those who had been made Nobles within this last hundred years, should pay the same Sum for their Confirmation, which they paid before. They have done many such things these five or six years last, which shews that they are put to the last shifts. Such practices were never heard of in any other Nation under the Sun.

Here is another remarkable example, There are several People who died since the Capitation was set up; now all their Friends are forced to

pay the said Poll-Tax for the dead, whether they left any Estate or no. There are many *French People* here in *England* who confirm this.

In short, I desire no more from those who will needs entertain such a great Opinion of the Riches and Power of *France*, but that they would answer the reasons, by which I shew evidently that *England* is and ought to be more populous and rich proportionably to it's Extent, than *France* ever was, and consequently much more than it is at present, or that they should bring any solid reason to oblige me to call in question what I advanced upon that Subject.

They must not alledge against me, what I acknowledged before, *viz.* that I think there was more Money in *France* than in *England*, and that for a considerable time they had all the advantage of the Trade with us, and Imposed Laws upon the rest of *Europe* about Trade, for that was meerly accidental, and for a time only, by reason of the weakness of those who did then govern the Neighbouring Nations; but suppose *France* had got 100 Millions of Livers in Coin by it, above what it should have had naturally without it, what signifies that to the value of a Kingdom worth perhaps 18 or 20 thousand Millions of Livers. 'Tis not the plenty of Coin hoarded up, that makes a Kingdom rich; tis the great Revenues of Real and Personal Estates, and of the Profits of Industry and Trade. The Province of *Holland* alone

alone has more Money than all *England* together, and yet the People has not the fifth part of the Revenues in Real and Personal-Estates of what *England* has, the Profits of Trade excluded. A Gentleman who has but a thousand Pounds of Revenue and one or two thousand Pounds in ready Money, is not so rich as another, who has less ready Money, and has three thousand Pounds Revenue. When a Monied-man, who hath no great Revenue, but some accidental Profits now and then, is profuse in his Expence, the Money is soon gone, so has it been with *France*. She had plenty of Money by the negligence of her Neighbours, and was used to govern the Neighbouring Nations, and to get advantages over them, it made her proud; She thought it would have lasted thus for ever, and now She is enraged to see, that her Neighbours are come to their wits, and better governed and wiser than before: She cannot endure it, as thinking She loses all her former Glory, and will rather perish than yield, being unwilling, as it were, to survive her self; so that, *Flectere si nequeat Superos, Acheronta movebit*, being puffed up with the Invasions and Conquests made upon her Neighbours, and with the Reputation She had unjustly gotten, of Prudence and Greatness, and by the Flatteries of the Clergy, and some other mercenary Pens, and the manifold extravagant Inscriptions set up at all the Corners of *Paris* and some of them very Impious,

to the Glory of her Monarch; I say, *France* being puffed up with so much vain Glory, cannot endure to think that her Laurels should fade, and her pretended Glory to be obscured in the least, so that She stands stiffly against the Torrent, which is in plain Terms to resist God and his Providence whereby he hath declared against her for all the cruelty, violations of Faith, &c. that She is guilty of.

I know that some will be yet apt to say, that *France* is of a larger Extent than I allow, and that she contains at least 100, or 120 Millions of Acres. But besides what I said already, that I would not recede from Sir *William Petty*, whom I think to have had good Reasons for his Computation of the Extent of *France*; I say further, that if any body would suppose that *France* contains 100, or 200 Millions of Acres, it would prejudice their Cause instead of being subservient to it; for, how much greater the Extent of a Countrey is with a few People, the less it is worth; 'tis the great multitude of People, and not the Extent of a Kingdom, that makes it valuable, as I said already. Now I have shewn before by a kind of demonstration, that *England* is much more populous than *France*, which we supposed to contain 82 Millions of Acres, ever was, by the comparison I made of *London* and the other Towns in *England*, with *Paris* and all the Towns of the 4 greatest Provinces of *France*, which take almost as much ground as *England* does.

does. Now it is clear, that how much the more *France* will be enlarged beyond the said 82 Millions of Acres, the more will my Position be confirmed, and *France* appear poorer and less populous.

Some may also alledge, That *France* was also more populous 30 years ago, than I made it to be, allowing only 500 persons to every one of her Parishes one with another. If I have committed an Errour as to that, it will be much greater in relation to the Parishes in *England*, to which I allowed only 600 persons one with another; for 'tis easie to see by all the Reasons above brought forth, that those of *England* ought to be more populous, at least by the third, than those of *France*; whereas I allow them only a 6th part more People. They must know, that I am so far from aggravating the Disadvantages of *France*, which are already great enough, that I do rather extenuate them. As for example, I suppose yet 9 Millions of People in *France*, tho' I do not believe there are eight, nor that their present Revenues are so great as I make them. I valued the Revenues of *France* before these last 30 years at 1000 Millions, taking in the Profits of Industry, but I do not believe that they did ever exceed 800 Millions, by reason of Popery, and its consequences. And so I reckoned the People of *England* to be only six Millions now, tho' several Authors reckon them at seven Millions. I valued likewise the Revenue of Lands in
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England at 8 Millions Sterling, as some have done before me, but I believe in truth that it amounts at least to ten Millions, and so I did in several other things indulge *France*, whose misery is inexpressible. As for example, about the number of working-men, who are less in number than I said. But notwithstanding all what we can say, there are some, and even honest people, who have such a mighty conceit of the Greatness and Power of *France*, that they will not admit of any Reasons against their prejudicate Opinion, tho' they bring none to support it, and they are confirmed in it by the Foreign News-mongers that keep Correspondencies with the Novelists of *Paris*, who writ them a thousand Lies, because they would not be suffered, but rather punished severely, and hanged too, if they did write any thing that was not to the advantage of *France*; and 'tis not improbable but that they are even rewarded by the Court for the News they write, for by that means they do the same thing among the Allies, which the Spies of *Joshua* did, when coming from the Neighbouring Countries of the *Canaanites*, they reported that the Inhabitants were all Gyants, much bigger and stronger than they really were, which caused the hearts of the *Israelites* to faint; *France* has practised several such cunning Methods for a long time, against her Neighbours:

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As for example, all the Letters of the Novelists of *Paris* did report lately, that there is more Money in *France* than ever was; some others, that they find as many Soldiers as they wish. 'Tis visible, that all these are impudent Lies; for what I have reported of the Melting of the Plate, and the raising of the Money twice within these six years last, is confirmed by thousands of French People here from *Paris*, and other Towns. And then the Novelists add, that the Farmers of the Impositions find Money at 8 *per cent*. Interest to advance the King, which cannot be true of any considerable Sum, because the same Farmers 20 and 30 years ago, did give more Interest for it, sometimes 10, and 12 or 14 *per cent*. 'Tis well known, that whosoever has any Money in *France* now, does conceal it. 'Tis certain also, and confirmed from all parts, that they force all Men for the War, and that they want Horses, and must get them from Foreign Countries.

We have many amongst us who are, in relation to *France*, very near of the same humour with the Soldiers who besiege a strong Place; They heard in the beginning of the Siege, that the Engineers assured that the Place could not hold out beyond such a certain time; when they have been a month, or some time longer before the Place, without carrying the Out-works, and that they see the Enemies make vigorous Sallies, they say, The Engineers
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do impose upon us, we shall never take the Place, the Garrison is too numerous, it appears by their vigour, that they suffer no want. Thus they speak, tho' the Besieged at the same time want all things, and the Place is turned to an heap of Rubbish by the Canon, Bombs and Carcasses, and the Garrison half destroyed. But notwithstanding the great distress the Besieged are in, they set a good face on their sad condition, and make Sallies more vigorously than ever they did, to try whether by an extraordinary Effort they can get themselves out of that trouble, and create in the Enemy a good Opinion of their condition, and oblige them to Raise the Siege, or in order to make a more Advantageous Capitulation. The Soldiers indeed would thereupon be of Opinion, that the Siege should be Raised; but the General and Engineers, who best know the condition of the Place, and of the Garrison, go on with their Attacks vigorously, and it comes to pass that soon after, the Garrison being exhausted in Sallies, capitulates, and every body is amazed to find both the Place and the Garrison in such a desolate condition, and admire how they did hold so long.

Those who said six or seven years ago, that *France* would not be able to resist the Allies, were much in the right, for they understood it in a rational sense, but not absolutely; that is to say, their meaning was, that it could not resist them without the utter Ruine of the King.

Kingdom, for otherwise in point of Political Prudence and Government of Nations, 'tis not a commendable Resistance, but a meer folly, to destroy a Nation, rather than to beg Peace, and yield something, or restore what the Enemy justly demands.

It was supposed that those who Ruled in *France* had some Prudence, and that they would suspend their Design of the Universal Monarchy to another time, or at least not expose their Glory and the Kingdom so much for a small point of Honour, and a little Interest, which certainly will not turn to their Honour at last; whereas there is no State in Europe, and I dare say there is no Example in Ancient or Modern History, of any Nation that has so long, and without necessity sustained a War so disproportionate to its own Strength, and so ruinous as this will be to *France*, before the Peace is made. The French must needs have some mighty Hopes of a great Revolution in this Kingdom, whereby they expect a conjunction of its Power with theirs, to accomplish their great Designs of obtaining the Universal Monarchy, and overturning the Protestant Religion. But so as we see that Court governs now, it may maintain the War two years longer, do yet abundance of mischief, and astonish all the World by their great Efforts, because they are absolute Masters of all the Estates and Lives of the Subjects, and have no more regard to them than

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to so many Dogs. Tho' there has been but little Corn this year in *France*, and almost no Wine, nor Cider, and but little Salt, Silk, and Olives. Yet the Pope and the Jesuits who foment the War, do not care for that, they lose nothing by it, for they reckon that they cannot fail of being very great and potent, however things succeed, for if the French King, and K. *James* prevail, they will be Masters of *England*, if *France* succumbs, they hope to be more Absolute and Potent in that Kingdom than ever, and that they shall have nothing to fear hereafter from it.

C H A P I V .

How, and in what manner the French King has devoured three-fourths of all the Capital Stock of the Kingdom of FRANCE.

FIRST, The Lands and Houses taken in general, thro' the Kingdom, are not, one with another, worth above the third part of what they were worth 30 years ago, in clear Money, repairs and amendments being allowed, and all other Expences discounted, and even that third part is ill paid. For altho' it is perhaps well paid in some parts of the Kingdom, and that Estates about the Frontiers may not have diminished in value ; because the Corn
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and other Fruits sell well there, by reason of the Armies and Garrisons, notwithstanding if we consider the great number of Lands untill'd, and of Houses forsaken, the Interruption of Trade, Scarcity of Money, and especially the Destruction of above half the Working-Men, which is the cause of the want of Farmers, and Husband-Men; I say, if we duly consider all this, we cannot but believe, that Real-Estates are fallen at least two-thirds, as to the Rent; and that if one had a mind to sell the Ground, it would not yield the sixth part of what it was worth formerly. So that 'tis a true position, that the King has devoured above three quarters of the Stock.

He has also consumed the three fourths of all the Woods for Timber, belonging to his Subjects, (except those that pertain to the Clergy) because the Extream Poverty they have been reduced to by the Government, has forced them to sell them for the payment, either of Taxes or Debts, or for their own Maintenance.

The *French* King has likewise consumed the three-quarter parts of the Coined Money in the Kingdom, conveying it out of the same by hundred different ways.

He has likewise wasted the three-quarter parts of all the Plate and Jewels in the Kingdom.

He has done the same in respect of Household-Goods; for altho' there may be almost as much

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as formerly (except Cattle, Plate, and Jewels) their Species being not properly destroyed or conveyed out of the Kingdom; nevertheless, if they were to be sold, they are not worth the fourth part of what they were formerly, because none wants them, Money and People being gone.

Men being destroyed, and Land-Estates forsaken, it follows necessarily that *Lewis* the XIV. has also devoured the greatest part of the Cattle; and indeed, there is no need of them upon a forsaken Land, where there is no people; for to what purpose? and who should take care of them? Moreover, 'tis certain, that where there is yet some Cattle, they are not in the same quantity, nor so good as formerly; and suppose there were still great multitudes of Cattle in the Kingdom, who should employ them at work, or eat them as Meat, when above half of the Grown and Working-men are destroyed, as I have said already, and shall prove it elsewhere: If the Cattle were plentiful, it would follow that they ought to be cheap, because of scarcity of People. But we hear to the contrary, that Butchers-Meat has been dearer at *Paris* for some years past than before, tho' Money is scarcer, and the number of Eaters lesser. The reason of it is evident, *viz.* that the number of People is not so much diminished in *Paris* as in the Provinces, which are hardly capable to furnish *Paris* with Meat, because they are Untilled and Unpeopled

peopled; besides, the Land-Forces in *Flanders* and *Germany*, being always very numerous and sojourning, in so much exhausted Countries, require abundance of Provisions. This dearneſs of Meat is a ſenſible effect of the great Depopulation of the Kingdom, eſpecially if joyned with the ſcarcity of Money. As for Horſes and Mules, but eſpecially Horſes, the number of them has decreaſed very much, becauſe, for many years, there is ſcarce any body has been able to keep Horſes and Mares for breed, becauſe of the want of Means, what profit ſoever there may be at preſent by that Trade, becauſe of the dearneſs of Horſes. 'Tis known the War has deſtroyed almoſt all of 'em.

The King has ſwallowed up all the debts of the Wealthy Ones in his Kingdom, that is to ſay, all that was owing them for Money lent to private Perſons, for which the Lands, Houſes, Offices, Cattle, and Houſhold-Goods of the Borrowers, were mortgaged; Since the ſame Lands, and Houſes and the reſt, are come to nothing. Which amounts perhaps to more than the preſent value of all the Stocks in the Kingdom, as I ſaid already.

He has devoured all the Civil Offices and Charges in the Kingdom, which he ſold very dear; ſo that they were inſtead of a Capital Stock to the Proprietors, whereas now they yield almoſt nothing to the Officers, and generally ſpeaking, cannot be ſold for the ſixth part of what they were bought for. For

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'altho' the Office of a *Master of Requests*, or of a *Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris*, may be still sometimes sold for the half of what they did cost at first; 'tis not so in the *Provinces*, where the Places of *Counsellor* in some considerable Courts of Judicature, called *Presidiaux*, as at *Poitiers* and *Angers*, are exposed to Sale for four thousand *Livers* at present, which had cost formerly above forty thousand *Livers*.

He has also consumed the Estates belonging to *Towns*, *Corporations*, and to great numbers of private Persons, who did possess them lawfully, by the Re-union that he has made of them to his *Demain*.

He has devoured all the *Magazines* of Merchandizes in the Kingdom, which used to be well stored; but are now empty; I mean not only those of *Foreign Commodities*, but also those of *Home-Manufactures* and *Product*; so that no body dares to meddle with *Trade*, for fear he should be presently swallowed up by *Taxes*, if he did but shew himself to have any *Wealth*.

He hath eat up the *Stock* of the *East* and *West-India Companies*, which are just upon the point of being totally ruined.

He has eat up the *Value* of all the *Trading-Ships* in his Kingdom, which are for the most part useless, and lie rotting in the *Harbours*.

He has destroyed all the *Manufactures* in his Kingdom, which were an inestimable Possession;

sion; nay, what is worse, his Enemies have appropriated them to themselves, and improved them.

He has swallowed up at several times, many hundreds of Millions of Livers which he extorted now and then from those they call *Partisans*, who are the Farmers of the Imposts, whom he despoiled at last, after they had despoiled others.

He has borrowed Immense Sums of Money from his Subjects, which he is not able to pay, if he were willing to do it.

Finally, He has consumed above the half of his People, if not in number, at least in value; as I have said already, and promised to demonstrate hereafter.

So that, every one may see, that I had reason enough to say, that the Kingdom is decayed within these 30 years, more than the three fourths in Value, but specially since the eight last years of the War: And I dare say, that this War does so much prejudice to it, that it amounts to near two thousand Millions of Livers every year, one with another.

And since I have advanced myself so far, I must shew, how the thing may be demonstrated.

I supposed already the Kingdom of *France* might be worth near 30 Millions Sterling of Revenue, or about 400 Millions of Livers, in Real and Personal Estate, when the War began, as *England* is valued at this day at sixteen

Millions Sterling, or 208 Millions of Livers Revenue, in Estates Real and Personal.

I supposed also, that the Revenues or Profits of the Industry of the People of *France*, might be worth about 45 Millions St. or 600 Millions of Livers yearly, as those of the English Nation may be valued at this day, at 26 Millions Sterling, or near 240 Millions of Livers. And so all *France*, with all its Effects, of which the People is the principal, might produce about 1000 Millions of Livers of Annual Revenue or profit; which being valued at 20 years purchase, ought to be worth 20 thousand Millions for the Stock; the People taken in bulk being as perpetual in duration as Lands, and Lands being worth nothing without People.

So that the Real and Personal Estates in *France* yielding 400 Millions of Livers yearly rent; if we estimate them upon the foot of 20 years purchase, they had been worth 8 thousand Millions of Livers.

Now if what we have supposed also be true, that the Real Estates taken in general, cannot be sold after the Peace, tho' made to morrow, at the 4th part of what they were valued at 30 years ago; and that the Personal Estates be fallen the same proportion, it will make six thousand Millions loss on those Estates alone.

As for the People, supposing that 4 Millions and a half of Souls have perished within these 30 years, half of which were Adult Men, if

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we value them only at 80 Pistols *per* head one with another, tho' Men are worth more than the double of that Sum, it would make near 4000 Millions of Livers loss upon that Head.

Nor can we reckon less than four thousand Millions of Livers for the Decrease in Price and Value of the remaining People that is, of the nine Millions of Souls supposed to be remaining in *France*, the greatest part of which consists in Women, and other sorts of People more unprofitable still for the National Work, *viz.* Children, Old, Infirm, Lame, Sickly People, and Soldiers, and Men who by their Estates, Dignity and Profession are exempted from working. For it holds constantly true, that the Value of People in a Nation depends upon that of their Industry and Labour, and on the Fruits and Profits proceeding therefrom, or to speak more plain, the Value of a Nation depends upon the quantity of the Revenue, which the Real and Personal-Estate do usually yield, which proceed from the Men, without which both Real and Personal-Estates are unprofitable, and Labour comes to nothing; for the Labour of a thin People in a vast and depopulated Country, yields very little profit. For example, the labour of a Million of Souls which may be at this day in *Ireland*, would not yield so much Profit as that of 200 thousand in *England*, imployed about the same kind of work, altho' the Ground is as good or better in *Ireland*,

land, and that million of Souls valued, and considered as bound to stay for ever in *Ireland*, would not be so much estimated by them who understand the Value of a People, as 200 thousand People of the same Order in *England* living constantly in it. 'Tis not the difference that there is between an *Irish* and an *Englishman*, nor the difference between the Soils, that would produce such an Effect; but the difference between a Populous Country and one ill Peopled. For if that Million of *Irish* people was transplanted into *England*, they would be valued as much as a Million of *English* of the same sort; and even considering that *England* would thereby become more populous than is at present, they would make the Revenues of *England*, and the value of the *English* Nation, and of its Industry rise, and consequently their own Value should also rise in the same proportion. On the contrary, if two hundred thousand *English*, did go over to *Ireland* to stay there, their Value and Price would decay very much (tho' they might, as to their private Interest, fare perhaps better there) because of their leaving a more populous Country for another that is less populous, but if instead of 200 thousand *English*, 2 Millions were transported thither, then they might be worth as much as they were in *England*, because *Ireland* would be then as populous proportionably, as *England* is at this day, and *Ireland* would also be worth as much in

in a little time proportionably, as *England*; Money would soon be plentiful; Husbandry, Arts, Manufactures, Trade flourish there, as they would proportionably decay in *England*. Therefore we cannot reckon less than 4 Millions for that Article.

So that it appears, that 14 thousand Millions of the 20 thousand which the Kingdom of *France* might be worth 30 years ago are lost, I make a great allowance to *France*, for I am of opinion that the loss is greater, and that the Real and Personal Estates, together with all the People in that Kingdom, are not worth 6 thousand Millions of Livers, nor scarcely 4, the People being so much decreased. I own indeed, That if the People were collected together, and compacted in one half of the Kingdom, and forsook the other half; the 9 Millions of Souls would be worth as much as ever they were; and that if they were confined to the 4th. part of the Kingdom secure from all all Invasion and insult of Enemies, and placed near the Sea, they would be worth more than ever were all the 13 Millions and a half of People diffused thro' *France* 30 years ago, and that 4th. part of the Kingdom being well peopl'd and cultivated, it would be infallibly worth more than was ever the whole Kingdom.

So that it is a great imprudence in any Prince or Nation to extend their Conquests, unless they People instead of depopulating their Country thereby, as they usually do; If so be
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they had Authority enough to do it: It were more wisely done to recollect all their People in as narrow a Compass as they reasonably could, in a good ground nigh the Sea and great Rivers; and to intrench themselves round about, with natural and artificial Fortifications, the best they could against all In-fults. Then they should see their People thrive and increase every day in riches and strength,

We see by the Example of *Holland*, what a great People in a little Country may do. And by the Examples of *Spain* and *Ireland*, how little a large Country signifies when depopulated. We may see it also, by comparing *England* with *Ireland*. The first is but twice as big as the other, and not naturally so fruitful; and yet 'tis commonly estimated to be worth ten times more, because of its being more populous. For if *England* enjoys a better Trade, if Arts and Manufactures flourish in it, and if Money is more plentiful, it owes all those advantages to the multitude of its People, which is the main thing in which it surpasses *Ireland*.

Sir W^m. Petty's
Political Anatomy
of *Ireland*.

We read in a very good Book, that all the Lands and Houses in *Ireland*, were valued in 1641. before the Rebellion at 11 Millions Sterling, and that 11 years after when the War was over, it was estimated in time of Peace at no more than a Million Sterling, and yet there was above 2 thirds of the People left, which were

were in it before the War; and it was also known that above 100 thousand Souls that fled out of the Kingdom because of the War, were preparing to return, as they really did. That same Book affirms, that the Houses and Lands might then all have been bought for 1 Million Sterling: And yet no body was ignorant that great numbers of new *Scotch* and *English* Inhabitants were preparing to transplant themselves thither, as they did to the number of above 100 thousand Souls in a few years after.

So that the Real Estates in *Ireland* fell from 11 to 1, whereas the Real Estates in *France* according to my computation, are fallen only 3 fourths, from 8 to 2. But I am sure, that they could not be sold at that rate, and it may be not at the 10 part of what they were valued at formerly. And as I observed just now, there were left in *Ireland* above 2 third parts of the People which were in it before the War, including those who fled over to *England* for shelter, and were expected back every day. Besides the new Plantations of *Scotch* and *English* which were a coming; whereas in *France* there is perished above half the People in value, not to say any thing of those whom the War continues to destroy till it be finished, and there is little reason to hope for any new Transmigration of Colonies to repeople it, neither is it certain that the *Protestants* who have been so cruelly persecuted contrary to the publick Faith

Faith of the Edicts, will ever return thither, and if they do, their number is not considerable enough to make up the great diminution of People.

It would be to no purpose to say, that the *Irish-War* was intestine, and that both Armies did destroy alike Men, Houses, Cattle, &c. Whereas *France* makes War upon the Countries of the Allies. For I dare confidently assert, that no Civil War, how cruel so ever, and tho' managed with 2 big Armies in the middle of *France*, could ever have done so much mischief to the Nation, as the King and his Exactors have done, and there needs no other proof of it but this, that there has perished in *France* much more People proportionably these last eight years, than there did in the eleven years War in *Ireland*, though the Plague and Famine, which are the ordinary Companions of a violent Civil War, destroyed many more People in *Ireland* than the Sword did. The Civil Wars of *France* in the last Age lasted above 40 years, and not the 4th part of the People perished then, as have done within this 8 years.

Then for the Houses, they are not in a very good condition at present in *France*; but what signifies Houses when a Nation is irrecoverably destroyed? *France* has not much reason neither to boast of the goodness of her Cattle, which are very bad, and but few in number.

But then, in the last place, I answer, that altho' all Houses and Cattle had been destroyed
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in *Ireland*, which they were not, since the Houses in walled Towns, which is the chiefest thing in *Ireland*, had suffered but little damage, and that the Cattle were still numerous enough as appears by the *Memoirs* of that time; tho' I say, all what is alledged, were true, I answer, that there being Men in it, they were capable of soon having Houses and Cattle. And 'twere better for *France*, that her greatest Grievance, were to have her Houses reduced to Ashes, and all her Cattle destroyed, on condition that she had but the two thirds of the Workmen, which were in her before the War, with a better Government and a better Religion. For if that were the Case, they would soon have as many Houses and Cattle as they needed.

It would be to as little purpose for any man to say, that it was because *Ireland* had not full Liberty for Trade. For the Irish Nation was better treated by the *English*, than the People of *France* has been by their Prince for many Reigns. And as for Trade, they had it always very free, and without any restraint upon Foreigners, who would come and fetch their Commodities, or upon the *Irish* themselves, who were at Liberty to carry them over to *Spain*, *France*, *Portugal*, and other places. Their Government was the same then as now, and yet their Estates are more valued at present, than they were at that time, which shews that it was merely the effect of the war, and

and of the great destruction of Men which preceeded it.

It would be as impertinent to object, that they were *Protestants*, who did then put such a low-estimate upon *Ireland*, because they had a mind to quit it, for besides what I have said already upon that Subject, the Objection is refuted by the History, which informs us that there were above 100 thousand *Protestants* born in that Country who had no *Estates* in any other part of the World, and who consequently were far from any thoughts to quit it; and were expected there, besides above an hundred thousand *English* and *Scotch Protestants* who actually went thither.

We must add to this, that it will be much harder to restore *France* to its former State, then it was to restore *Ireland*, in respect of the Lands, because the most part of the Soil of *Ireland* is fit for Pasture, whereas the most part of *France* consists in Arable Lands and Vines, which being untilld and quite rooted up, cannot be restored so easily. I have insisted much on that example of *Ireland*, because I do not know any that agrees so well with the Condition that *France* is likely to be reduced to.

I might very well have valued only the loss of the People in *France*, and have forbore to make mention of Real and Personal *Estates*, for after all is said, *Estates* are worth nothing without People, and if there was but one Man in *France*,
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all the Estates would be worth no more than that Mans maintenance. So that I might have valued the People which did spend a thousand Millions of Livers yearly, 30 years ago, when they did make up, according to our supposition, the number of 13 Millions and a half. I might, I say, have estimated them on the foot of twenty years purchase, at twenty thousand Millions. For altho' every individual Person is commonly estimated, but at 7 or 8 years purchase, because they are mortal, a Nation which is conceiv'd to be as perpetual, as the world in its duration, as I already said, may be very reasonably valu'd at 20 years purchase.

And so, suppose that half of it is destroyed, if not as to the number, at least as to their strength and ability for work ; that being, as I say, supposed, it would alone amount to ten thousand Millions of Livers, which ought to be deducted from the twenty thousand Millions aforesaid.

And because the remaining People are very thin in the Kingdom, dispersed to and fro, and not united and compacted together, so as to help one another, and to improve their Land, the Seas and Arts to the best advantage, as if it were gathered together in half of the Kingdom, and in the same proportion as it was when the 13 Millions and a half of Souls were living in it; for that reason the least that can be abated of its former Value, will be five or six Millions ; and so the Kingdom will be found
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to have decayed 3 quarters at least of its ancient Value, if taken according to what it might have been estimated at thirty years ago.

And if any man will be at the pains to reckon the other Losses which the Kingdom has endured within these 30 years, he will find many thousand Millions of Livers lost otherwise.

As for example, the 13 Millions and a half of People, supposed to have been in France 30 years ago, ought to have encreased about two Millions of Souls in 30 years time according to the ordinary Progress of Generation, observed by Naturalists, which being valued upon the same foot as we estimated the rest, had been worth 3 thousand Millions, that is, about 1500 Livers *per Head*, one with another.

Observe that the Adult Males, or Men in the prime of their Age, are commonly valued at twice as much as the rest, as is to be seen by the example of Slaves bought at that rate; which by the way shews either the Imprudence or the Misfortune of those Princes or States which willingly, or forced by some necessity, sell their Subjects to other Nations, by Regiments or Companies, so cheap as many of em do.

If we add to this, the Loss of the *Superlucration*, that is to say, of what a Nation gets, or improves above its Expence; for it must be known, that a populous and thriving Nation,
grows

grows continually richer and richer, or else it would be still in the same condition that it was 200 years ago. I say, if we reckon that Loss of the *Superlucration*, it would amount still higher.

And then further, if we could take an account of the Losses the Kingdom has sustained within this 30 years, and especially since this War, in relation to the Revenues and Rents of all the Estates, and of the Revenues and Profits of the Industry and Labour of the People, which have been so strangely decaying from year to year, this Head, with the precedent, would amount to some thousands of Millions of Livers.

And I will make bold to add, that in case the War continues yet three years longer at the same Charges and Expences to *France*, that I do not think all the Real Estates in that Kingdom could be worth, if sold, a thousand Millions of Livers, nay perhaps not worth five hundred.

It must be observed, that the longer the War continues, the more irrecoverably that Kingdom sinks, and also the Value of all things in it, that is, as well of the remaining People, as of Lands, Houses and Personal Estates, except Money, Plate and Jewels.

And so that Kingdom loses less in Value every year now, than it did the first years of the War, because Lands, People, and all things in it, were more valuable then than now. Tho' it spends

spends as many Men as formerly, and loses more in relation to the impossibility of its being ever restored to its former State, and of recovering it self. A poor man, who has but a hundred pounds Estate, loses less as to the Value of the Sum when he loses fifty, than a man who has ten thousand pounds does, when he loses one thousand, but he loses more in truth, because he has not so much remaining wherewithal to live.

And as a Man decays more by letting six Ounces of Blood when in a Consumption, than he did when in health by letting 12 Ounces. So does *France* also lose more now in that sense than it did before.

But because People will be apt to contradict all this, and that indeed the thing seems incredible, tho' grounded upon very good Arguments, that *France* should have decayed so much. I consent, that they should value *France* still at the half of what we supposed it was worth twenty years ago. But as for my part, I shall not be of their Opinion.

C H A P. V.

A particular Account of the Depopulation of
FRANCE.

THE better to judge of the Depopulation and Decay of *Agriculture* in *France*, as also of the Decrease of Arts, Manufactures, and Trade, &c. and of the little probability there is, that that Nation should ever recover its former Strength, or at least not in 100 years time. The better, I say, to judge of this, let us remember the number of Inhabitants which we supposed to have been in *France* 30 years ago, viz. 13 Millions and a half. And let us consider what number of Adult Men there might be in that time who were able to serve in *Arts, Manufactures, Agriculture, Navigation*, &c. and what number of those may have perished by the accidents we spoke of, besides those who are used to dye naturally; What number may be in the Army; What deficiency there may have been in the ordinary course of Propagation, for these thirty years past. How many there may be among the Adult, who are rendred unfit for Work, by their Estates, Dignity or Profession; How many who are disabled by natural Infirmities; and let us dive as much as possible into the number of
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them who are fit for Work, and Manufactures.

First, I will suppose *gratis* for the advantage of *France* (tho' there is reason to question it) that there might be as many Men as Women 30 years ago; and that, dividing the whole Mass of People in the Kingdom, *viz.* Men, Women and Children, into three parts, there was 4 Millions and a half of Men, from 12 years of age and above. That which induces me to comprehend in this division, Children of 12 years and above, is, that otherwise there could not be in the whole, the third part of Men, since the Children in a Nation, under 16 years of age, are commonly judged to make half of the whole Mass of People; Besides, they begin at that age to be useful for *Arts, Agriculture, Navigation, &c.* and now they make Soldiers of them at that age in *France*, putting them in Garrison, where they are by degrees inured to Fatigue and War. So that there is reason enough to think, that including among Adult Men, Children above 12 years of Age, I allow a great addition to the number of Men in *France*. And I desire it may be remembered, because my increasing the number of Men, by the Addition of some hundreds of thousands, will serve to shew more clearly and unquestionably the want of Culture of Lands, Trades and Arts in the Kingdom, because that addition will shew the remaining part of them to be so much the less considerable.

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From the year 1666. to the first of this War, there could be no less than 2 Millions of Souls diminished for the reasons proposed above, viz. The horrid and excessive Taxes imposed every year upon the People, and the oppressive Methods of raising them, which are no less troublesome than the Taxes themselves; The unnecessary Wars, the Conquests made to no purpose, which Depopulated the Country every way, as well by the Destruction of great numbers of Men, as by the transplantation of an infinite multitude of Persons, who retired to the new Conquests, hoping to live there more quietly than they could have done in their own oppressed Country; By the extreme Poverty which caused great numbers to perish at home, and in the Hospitals of *Paris*, and elsewhere; The Persecution of the *Protestants*, which, besides the number of People destroyed thereby in *France*, banished great numbers of 'em out of the Kingdom, &c. I might justly reckon above two Millions of Souls diminished by all those several Methods, without any aggravation, of which above the third part were Men. I mean, without including in that number, those who dyed according to the ordinary course of Nature, whose number under moderate Governments, is supplied by Young Children, born in their stead. Let us reckon only 700 thousand Men.

Since the beginning of this War, which hath lasted already eight years, the King maintains,

as we have seen, about 500000 Men, of which the fourth part perishes every year, one with another, as appears by the List of Recruits. Nay, 'tis affirmed, that one third part dies or deserts every year, but I shall reckon only a fourth part; That's above 900 thousand in eight years past, without including this present year, which being added to the 500 thousand (including Servant men, and those belonging to the Artillery, Ammunition, Provisions, Militia) that are always kept on foot by Land or Sea, who are more than unprofitable to the Nation, make up the number of 1400 thousand Men.

Besides this, there have died in these 8 years of the War, at least the fourth part of the Nation by Mortality, Misery and Famine, since it is computed, that in the year of the Grand Famine alone, there perished two Millions and a half of People, not including those destroyed in the War, or dead in the ordinary and natural way. I know that some may cavil at the word *Natural*, because very few die so now a-days in *France*; the common People dying for the most part meerly for want. Let us count only two Millions and a half of People for that Article, that we may not be accused of aggravating, and suppose that amongst that number, there be but 500 thousand Men, because there are proportionably fewer Men than Women in the Kingdom.

It will make up above two Millions one hundred

hundred thousand Men that have died out of the four Millions and a half supposed above, besides the five hundred thousand Soldiers who are more than unprofitable, as I said, for the National work, and who have been constantly for these eight years in the Armies at Land and Sea, or in Garrison and Quarters, not including in that number them who dye in the ordinary course of Nature, which we suppose here *gratis* to be filled up by the ordinary progress of Generation. So that there remains only 1 Million 900 thousand Men in the Kingdom.

According to this Computation which is modest, there cannot be much above 8 Millions of Souls remaining in the Kingdom, tho' I am willing to allow it yet 9 Millions, including all the Soldiers; if we come now to examine the great number of those 1900000 Men remaining, that are unfit for Work, we shall yet be much more amazed to find so small a number of Working-men left in the Kingdom. Those unprofitable Men make up almost the half of the total, as I shall demonstrate by and by.

Of this sort I account Church-men, the Officers of Judicature, Finances, and Civil Government, and all other Officers of what Order and denomination soever. The Farmers general and particular of all the Impositions, their Commissioners and Agents great and small, and those called *Gabeleurs*, and other Tools which

which serve under them; all the Nobility and Gentry, from the Princes of the Blood, to the smallest of those called *Gentlemen*, which are the poorest sort of the Nobility; the Physicians, Chirurgions and Apothecaries; all the chief Merchants, and others who sell things by retail, which they do not make themselves, and several other kinds of men which I shall specify hereafter, with their Sons and Servants; I mean generally, all those Orders of men who do not work in Manufactures, Mines, Agriculture, Navigation, Fishing, or any sort of Arts. For it must be observed, tho' all these People are not wholly unprofitable to Society, yet all their Labour cannot save Mankind from starving. All those kinds of men, if they were 20 times more numerous, can neither maintain nor enrich the Nation in the least. The Labour of a Plough-man, or Seaman, Manufacturer or Trades-man, brings more Profit to the Common-wealth, than a thousand of those sorts of men, except as to the matter of Propagation. Many of them indeed get great Fortunes, but it is just as with Gamblers, who win it from their Country-men, or Fellow Citizens. The Common-wealth is never a Pin the richer for it, because they add no Riches to them that were already in the Nation. I grant that Humane Society cannot subsist without men of that kind, and that they are necessary in a certain measure; but it is not they who maintain or enrich a Nation. I confess

confess indeed Merchants are necessary, and contribute much towards the Welfare of a Country, but 'tis by employing Working-men who are their Arms and Hands.

Moreover 'tis observable, that amongst those who do the most useful Work of the Nation, the strongest and stoutest are taken for War, and 'tis they especially who for the most part lose their Lives in it; so that among the men remaining in the Country, a great number are old, weak, infirm and invalid, which causes the difference of a sixth part at least, so that in case 900 thousand Working-men are still remaining, they must be reckoned only for 750 thousand. For besides that, I have accounted amongst the Men, Children of twelve years, and the old Men above sixty, who are not so fit for Labour, as other men. I count also among them, as I have said already, the sickly, blind, lame, and beggars, which make a great number. So that here remains only to the Value of 750 thousand Adult men for all the Work of the Nation.

This one thing is also to be remembered, that the 500 thousand Men in the Armies, do mightily disturb other Subjects in their Work, by their Marches, Counter-marches, Sojournings, Quarters, and Robberies; for I beg the Reader to consider what disturbances such a vast number of Forces that have been marching continually these 8 years from one end of the Kingdom to the other, from one Province, Frontier,

or Sea-Coast to the other, by a hundred different Roads, and committing Disorders every where, for want of Money to pay their Expences, besides their Robberies, in which they are countenanced by the Court, because the Soldiers are kept short in their Pay; and moreover they think fit to indulge them, that they may make new Levies, and Recruit their Armies the more easily.

Add to all this, the Disorder caused by the oppressive Methods of Raising Imposts and Taxes, of which I spoke already.

Moreover, of the said 750 thousand Working-men, many are continually-employed in things relating to the Armies, serving now and then as Pioneers on the Frontiers, and are often employed about carrying to Garrisons or Armies, Ammunition, Provisions, and other necessaries for their Subsistence, either with Horses and Mules, or VVaggon by Land, or with Ships or Boats by Sea and Rivers, without mentioning the Oppressions formerly spoken of, which they lie under from Officers of Judicature, Exacters, and Clergy-men.

And this is also to be remembred here, that besides *Sundays* they have many false Holy days, as already said, which deprives them of the 1th. part of the working days in the year, so that the 750 thousand men are not worth 600 thousand, who work all those days, as *Protestants* do in *England*; without mentioning likewise their sorry Cattle, and the incapacity they

they are in of improving their industry to the best advantage, by being ill maintained, and wanting means and tools necessary for it.

All those things being duely considered, I dare affirm that 500 thousand men in the prime of their Age, as Souldiers commonly are, being in good health, not molested nor disturbed in their labour, provided with all necessaries in their severall imployments, well fed, obnoxious to no other Holy days but Sundays, or some few days besides, which are observed in *England* and some other *Protestant* Countries, would be much more useful and serviceable to a Nation, than the 750 thousand of which we speak, lying under all the troubles and miseries above mentioned.

And so it appears, that the French King has in his Armies above the fourth Man of his Kingdom, and the half of all his Subjects able for Work: And 'tis evident that *France* loses yearly by this Depopulation, and the ill consequences of it, above the Value of one of the largest and best Provinces of the Kingdom, and more than all its Conquests are worth.

Let's see now what part of those Men may be employed about Husbandry, and how many about Arts, Manufactures, Navigation, Fishing, Trade, in and out the Kingdom, and in the Shops. To avoid a hard and tedious examination of all the particulars of such a division, I think we may allow Husbandry the two Thirds of the whole, viz. 500 thousand Men,

Men, and to Arts, Navigation, &c. the 250 thousand remaining.

In this manner there being 27 thousand Parishes in the Kingdom, there cannot be in every Parish, one with another, above 20 Men employed about Husbandry.

And not above 10 out of the 250 thousand employed in Arts, Manufactures, and the rest, in every Parish of the Kingdom, one with another. But 'tis to be observed, there are no Husband-Men in Cities and Towns, and so the Country Parishes injoy the more.

And as on the other hand, there are very few Men employed in the Country Parishes, about Arts, &c. So Cities and Towns have the greater number of them.

By Husbandry, I understand, all necessary labour about Lands, as well for the production of Fruits, Corn, Wine, and Cider, Pulses, Roots, and Herbs, for the use of Mankind, Hay, Wood, Flax, Hemp, Apples, &c. And the reaping and gathering of them all in their Season, as also all Labour relating to breeding of Cattle, and its dependencies, as Wool, Milk, Butter, Cheese, &c. I comprehend also therein, the Handy-Crafts, without which Husband-men can do nothing. As also those that make or mend their Tools: And all such whose work is to make their Cloaths and Shoes, and who now and then imploy themselves also about Husbandry.

No doubt but a great many will think the number

number of 500 thousand for Husbandry to be very small: And I am of that opinion my self, for any body may easily conceive, that it is not sufficient to Cultivate the half of the Kingdom: Nay I will say further, not to cultivate the fourth part of it; as it ought to be done.

But we must add also, that Women, Maids, and Boys under 12 years of Age and above 7 do perform a great part of the work. 'Tis the Women that take care of the Cows, Hogs, Sheep, and other small Cattle, or Beasts; who make Butter, and Cheese; who spin Woollen and Linnen Thread, who go to Market, who help to Sow and Reap Corn, Wine, and other Fruits; and in the present great scarcity of Men, some drive Oxen or Horses, dig Vines, and do other such work; I grant they can neither do it so well nor so much as Men do, and that they cannot meddle with any such thing, unless there be in one Family a great many lusty Women, for commonly they are busie enough about Domestick Affairs, and the care of Children, and when they give suck or are quick with Child, they are fit for no kind of work.

But however, Women in general are very helpful to Men in Affairs of Husbandry; and now a days more than ever in *France*, because of the want and scarcity of Men; besides that, there's no question but several of the poor Gentry, Curates and Priests, and poor Officers

of

of Judicature, Chirurgions, Notaries, Sergeants, or Bailiffs, their Sons, and Servant-Men, work also about Husbandry to avoid starving. And 'tis known that the Gentry and Clergy had always Servants, who were employed in such Affairs.

So that I believe there may be yet near the value of 30 Men fit for Husbandry in every Parish of the Kingdom, including the poor Gentlemen, Curats, Priests, and others, which I named just now, with their Servant-Men, without reckoning Women, Maids, Girls, and Boys above 7 years of Age, and under twelve. They may seem to be more numerous in certain places, because of many Weakly, Infirm, Blind, Lam: People, and Beggars who appear there, besides Boys from 12 to 16 years of Age, who do all of them something; but of which two or three are scarce worth a Stout lusty workman. And therefore I reduce them all to the value of 30 Men; and I am sure, I allow them more Men than there are. But I confess, they lose abundance of their time about the Offices, as I said already, of Collectors, and other such troublesom businesses, wherewith they are plagued: I confess also that in a great many Villages there is hardly a man to be seen.

By Arts, as I said already, I understand Handy-Crafts, Manufactures, Navigation, Fishing, and the Shop-keeping Trade, in Cities, and Town. I excepted Merchants, and those

those that maintain Manufactures, and other wealthy Trades-Men, whether they sell by whole sale or retail, those things which they made not themselves, though very useful in a Nation, because I place them elsewhere among those who by their Estates are exempted from working.

I supposed there might be 250 thousand of them in all. Amongst that number, I judge, there may be the tenth part, who apply themselves to things more for Curiosity, Ornament or Vanity, than for Necessity; whose Industry nevertheless, is not to be contemned, especially when it is useful to draw Money from Foreigners: such for the most part are more regarded by great and rich Men, and all Lovers of Curiosities and Pleasure, and commonly get great Fortunes sooner than others that are more useful; as we see, that Princes ordinarily prefer those who are subservient to their Lusts and Pleasures; or of an outward Shape which pleases their Eyes, or are impudent in asking undeserved Preferments, tho' never so incapable, or without Merit, Honour or Affection to their Country; while those who are modest and most capable, and zealous for the publick good, and the most deserving of the Nation are neglected; and suffered to starve, of which there are but too many instances.

The Handy-Crafts most necessary to the Common wealth, are first, Those whose business

finest it is to get them Iron from the Mine, and to render it fit for *Man's* use; and then those who imploy it, as Smiths and others who forge the Tools fit for Husbandry and Arts, and then the following Trades, as Taylors, Carpenters, Masons, Stone-cutters, Bricklayers, Lock-smiths, Glaziers, Paviers, Joy-ners, Shot-makers, Millers, Rope-makers, Saddlers, Weavers, Cutlers, Coopers, Nail-makers, Tanners, Curriers, Cart-wrights, Potters, Salt-makers, Pewterers, Braziers, Pin-makers, Printers and Bookfellers, Sword-cutlers, Gun-smiths, Gunpowder-makers, &c. All those who work about Wool, or Linnen, or Silk, all Manufacturers of any kind soever, who work not only to supply the wants of their Nation, but for the use of Foreign Countrys, &c. One Man amongst those, as I said already, is more useful than a hundred who busie themselves about unnecessary things, nay, and often times noxious, as are subservient for Luxury, Pride, Dissoluteness, and even Wantonness, or sometimes to Cheats and Impostures, and who abuse the Customs, Opinions and foolish Credulity of Mankind.

Among the useful Handicrafts, those who are serviceable for Navigation, for building of Ships, and all other things necessary for equipping them, as also to Fishing, are not to be forgotten; and therein I do also comprehend all Sea-faring Men, under what denominations soever.

All

All these things being considered, there's no doubt but that number of 250 thousand Men, which I supposed to be remaining in the Kingdom of *France*, fit for Handicrafts, will be found very small; But it is observable, that as about Husbandry, we may say also that about Arts, and Handicrafts, Women, Maids, Girls and Boys under twelve, and above seven years of Age, are very useful. They work about Wool, Linnen, Silk, and do several pretty and useful things: And even the Wives and Daughters of Men, who follow the Professions, either noxious or useless to Commonwealth, and live in Towns; those Females, I say, are more profitable than their Men, for either they Spin, or Sow with a Needle, or do some other necessary Work. Tho', I must acknowledge, that Country women or Children, are commonly a great deal more useful, than those of the Professions, or Trades, that are exercised in Towns.

When all is said, tho' Womens Labour is commonly judged to be a very inconsiderable matter in general, I dare say, it is so considerable, that our Posterity in *France* will strangely feel the want of it in 25 or 30 years hence, when the half or the two-thirds of Unmarried Women, who cannot find matches for want of Men, shall be dead without Children; then there will be much less People fit for Husbandry, and Arts; and Land-Estates will decay more and more for that reason, for 20 or 30 years hence.

Let

Let us see in the next place, who they are who compose the other half of the Men, which I said were unprofitable for Husbandry, Arts, Manufactures, Navigation, &c.

I place then, as I said before, in that rank, all Officers of Judicature, great and small, from the Chancellour to the least Bailiff or Sergeant, their Sons and Servant-Men, as also all the Officers of the Finances, and Civil Government, great and small, their Sons and Servant-men.

All the Officers of the King's Household, and of those of the *Dauphin's*, and other Princes of the Blood, their Sons and Servant-men.

All Clergy-men, great and small, and their Servant-men.

All the Nobility, from the Princes of the Blood, to the lowest of the Gentry, their Sons and Servant-men.

All Farmers general and particular of Impositions and Taxes, their Directors and Commissioners, great and small, and all other Extractors with their Crew, their Sons and Servant-men.

A vast number of Men possessing the New Offices, with some Privileges granted, or rather promised them, their Sons and Servant-men: As for the Offices for selling Fowls, Offices for selling Calves, Officers for selling Lambs, for selling Oysters, Measurers of Wood, Hay, Coal; as also Officers for selling Brandy in Retail, Officers of Cryers of old Hatts, Shoes and

and Raggs, Officers of Cryers of Burials, Officers-Packers, and a thousand sorts of other such Noble Officers : A great number of Officers-Pay-masters of Land-Forces, Fleet, Gallies, of the Rents of the Town-house of *Paris*, of the Wages of all Civil Officers, and of the Kings and Princes Household, with their Sons, Commissioners and Clerks.

The Officers of the Post-Offices, great and small, their Sons and Servant-men.

As also the Masters of all the Offices of Charets of Horses, and Coaches of Messengers by Land and Rivers (observe that there are some Boats called Water-Coaches) their Sons, Commissioners and Servant-men.

All Doctors, and Members of Universities, Academies, Colledges, Schools; all Physicians, Chirurgions, Apothecaries, Perriwig-makers, Barbers, Musicians, Fencing and Dancing-Masters, Tennis-Court-Masters, and those who keep other Plays or Games of several sorts, Comedians, Fiddlers, Mountebanks, Rope-Dancers, &c. their Sons, Scholars, Prentices or Servant-men.

All Merchants, and those who drive Manufactures; those who sell by Whole-sales, either in Ware-houses or Shops, all sorts of Wares whatsoever, as Iron, Linnen, or VVoollen, Silks, Corn, Oates, VVine, VVood, Leather, Lead, Salt and dry Fish, Sugar, Brandy, &c. I include in that number Bankers, Juwelers, rich Goldsmiths, Grocers, Haberdashers of

Hatts by wholefale ; those that deal much in fine Laces, Galoons and Fringes of Gold and Silver ; the great Dealers in Tin and Lead, Druggists ; Booksellers, and several other rich Shop-keepers, &c.

The Shop-keepers that sell by Retail things which they did not make themselves, together with their Sons and Servants, I distinguish them from Shop-keepers, Mechanicks and Tradesmen who sell their own VVork, whether it consists in things Necessary, or only for Curiosity, Ornament or Luxury ; their Sons and Servant-men.

All Officers of VVaters and Forests ; all those of the Court, called *Requetes de l' Hotel* ; all those of the *Constabulary*, great and small ; their Sons and Servant-men.

All Officers of *Provost Marshal-Seas*, with their Sergeants, Sons and Servant-men.

All those belonging to none of the afore-said Orders, who live on their own Rents, their Sons and Servant-men.

All Inn-keepers and Vintners, Cooks, Keepers of furnished and unfurnished Rooms, Brewers, Sellers of Brandy, Retailors of Tobacco, Coffee, Chocolat, Thea, or Sorbet, VVater-carriers, Pedlars, Hawkers, Porters, Coachmen, Hair-men, Cart-men, Letters of Hackney Coaches and Horses, &c.

All carriers of Fish, fresh or salt ; those that sell wild and tame Fowls, Eggs, Butter, Cheese, VVool, Silks, Stuffs, Linnen-Cloth, Thread,

Thread, Iron-mongers, &c. and those who carry with Carts, Horses, Mules, Asses, or otherwise such sorts of Goods, or others from one Town or Province to another, and who get their lively-hood thereby ; with their Sons and Servant-men.

All those who are employed in Boats upon Rivers, to carry Goods ; or about Fishing, with their Sons and Servant-men.

Besides several other sorts of Men which I do not remember.

The number of these Men is certainly as great as is the number of those employed at this day, in Handicrafts, petty Trades, and Husbandry. There are indeed among all those sorts of them many who, as I said before, are helpful to Agriculture, and do work now and then about Lands.

'Tis also to be observed, that the number of most of these Men who are unprofitable to Husbandry, and Arts, &c. as before-mentioned, is much less diminished than that of Peasants, Artists, Manufacturers, &c. because the Extreame Poverty and the Violence of the military Officers have forced multitudes of them to turn Soldiers. Whereas others for the most part, have avoided it, by reason they had something whereupon to live ; and 'tis known also, that the number of Civil Offices is prodigiously increased since this VVar, and by consequence that of Civil Officers in proportion.

This is the reason why the People of Towns

are less diminished proportionably than those of the Country, tho' the former are also much diminished, and if so be the VVar continues two years longer, as it may happen, Peasants and Artizans will decrease much more in number than they have done hitherto, not only by the Sword, but also by the dreadful Poverty which will certainly overwhelm all those that stay at home.

I make bold to say, that the fifth or sixth part of the Clergy-men in France, would be sufficient for the Nation, if things were well regulated; so that 190 thousand of them, besides several Servant-men who attend 'em, could easily be spared for Husbandry and Trade.

I say moreover, that the tenth part of the Officers of Judicature, would be sufficient for all the Kingdom. VVe may also easily be convinced that there are too many Officers of the Finance; and too many Farmers of the Imposts, with all their Tools and Servant-men; too many Officers of the King's Household and that the number of the new Offices is enormous; So that 'tis apparent, that the greatest part of those kinds of Men, with their Sons and Servants, might be a thousand times better employed about Husbandry and Trade, than in those Offices, so ruinous and troublefome to the Nation, while it wants sufficient numbers of People to Cultivate the Ground and Improve Trade.

So

So that I think I have acquitted my self pretty well of what I had taken in hand, viz. To demonstrate, that above the half of Men are perished in the Kingdom of *France* within these 30 years: Seeing I have proved, by examining the Progresses of the Losses *France* has made in that respect, that there remains but the value of 750 thousand Men, fit for the profitable work of the Nation, instead of 4 Millions and a half which it might have had in all, 30 years ago; amongst which I confess, there may be yet about a Million of other Men, but such as are unprofitable, and even for the greatest part troublesom to others.

I grant also, that besides all those sorts of Men, *France* has a great multitude of Soldiers, as I said before, who might be converted into Husband Men, and Artists, if they would apply themselves to work after the Peace, in case the Kingdom be free from Civil troubles, but all those together with the 750 thousand profitable Men, and the unprofitable of which I have spoken, including all the Lame, Ancient, or Impotent People mentioned before; I say, all those, though making about the half of the 4 Millions and a half, are not really worth the half of that number 30 years ago, because there remains among them at present as many, or more Impotent Men, as there did 30 years ago, and not the third part of the Useful Men that were in that time, comprehending even in that

number of 4 or 500 thousand Soldiers; tho' noxious, instead of being profitable, without which there would be but the fourth part of the number.

Observe also, that above 100 thousand of the best Men, are to be deducted yet out of the 750 thousand Profitable Men remaining, for the Recruits of the Armies this year, which is the 9th of the War, so that there will not remain above 650 thousand, and these too very much disabled.

So that any man of sense may judge by this of the present condition of *France*.

Let the Criticks do their best to controvert my Calculations, and deny the number of Men in *France*, to be so much decreased as I affirm it to be; let them assert, if they please, that not above the half of those I call *Profitable Men*, have perished; yet whether they will or no, it will appear that more have perished of those profitable ones than are now remaining, and that of it self would be sufficient to justify what I have advanced in several places, *viz.* that Estates in *France* are not worth in general, above the third part of the Revenue they were worth 30 years ago, and perhaps not worth the 10th part as to the Stock.

number

The Effects of a Depopulation.

Some may imagine, because they do not understand nor comprehend those things, that I exaggerate the Misery of *France*, and the inconveniencies of her Depopulation; Therefore I shall shew here a part of those Evils which attend the Depopulation of a Country, which every one does not think of.

In a Depopulated Country, besides that the Grounds lie untilled, the People become infallibly lazy; there is no emulation amongst them for VVork; no encouragement for Industry; and thus Arts, Manufactures, Navigation and Trade cannot flourish there; Money is necessarily scarce, or at least it is not common, which hath the same Effect; the Interest of Money is very high, at 10, 12 and 15 *per cent.* which hinders all Commerce, and ruineth Manufactures and Arts; the Lands and Houses are bought at 4 or 5 years purchase, or less, according to the degree of Depopulation. Markets are far one from another, and People lose all their time in going and coming; they that have any thing to sell are obliged to keep it a great while, and to give it almost for nothing, because of the small number of Buyers, the ways are for the most part unpassable; Bridges or Passage Boats upon the Rivers, &c. are not kept in repair, and many times there is none

at all, which hinders Communication from one place to another, or at best obliges People to travel a great deal more than is needful to arrive at the place whither they are bound. Navigable Rivers become oftentimes Unnavigable for want of care, and necessary Expence; Posts, Coaches, Horses, and Ferry-Boats are also wanting, because no Body will be at the charge of them, where there's neither Trade nor People: Seditions can hardly be suppressed, when any powerful Neighbour does abet them, because an Army cannot easily subsist, and the Publick Revenues are but small in such places. And 'tis also difficult, if not impossible, to maintain a considerable number of old Standing-Forces in such Countries. Every body is discouraged from Building, Sowing and Planting, by reason that People look on their labour as lost, the Earth, Trees and Beasts producing of themselves almost as much as is necessary for the Inhabitants, without any trouble, as may be seen in *Ireland*; Men in a Depopulated Country cannot help one another in their VVork, nor assist one another almost upon any occasion, because of their remoteness. I would ask any Men, whether it be not true, that twenty thousand Men employed about the building of a great City, would not do incomparably more work, if lodged all on three thousand Acres near their Work, than if they lodged upon ten thousand at a distance, where they should not be able

to assist one another, nor communicate their Counsels together, but should lose most of their time in going and coming, or in doing nothing.

Thieves multiply in Depopulated Countries, and 'tis dangerous to travel in them; if it be in the Main Land, as *France* is, the number of Wolves and other mischievous Beasts, increases infinitely; if any man stands in need of a Priest, Chirurgion, Physician or Lawyer, how hard is it to find them? and how much time is there lost in seeking after them, because of the remoteness? And as Arts want a mutual supply and support one from another, they cannot be easily practised where there is few People, and where they live so far one from another; for that reason an able and skillful Artist is often forced to do himself what another Person very unskilful and ignorant of the Trade, and whose labour is not worth a penny a day, viz. either a Woman or a Child, could easily do. In a Depopulated and thin Peopled Country, the charges of prosecution of Suits at Law, is greater than in a well Peopled One; and in such Countries those who have Estates, and are born for Peace are obliged to be their own Officers and Souldiers; and the charge and trouble of defending and guarding a Depopulated Country, against all Foreign Invasion, is greater than in a Populous Country; there's great want of Hospitals for the Sick and Wounded, Orphans, Lame and Mad People,

ple; There are no Houses of Correction, or Discipline, or VVork-Houses, for there is none either able or willing to be at the charges of them. In Maritime Countries the multitude of People is infinitely useful for equipping with diligence great numbers of men of War and other Ships, to supply the Merchants with Convoys; there may be found in an instant all the necessaries for Navigation, if not in the place, yet in another very near; but it is the contrary in a thin peopled Country; The Sciences and Noble Arts cannot flourish in a Depopulated Land, because the People must needs be poor there, and so that there is none to maintain the Universities, Academies, Colleges and Schools necessary to that purpose. The Administration of Civil Government, as well as of Justice, is more easie and less chargeable in a well peopled Country than in one that is depopulated. Every one is obliged in a dispeopled Country to have his House constantly furnished with all sorts of Provisions for a long time, like a Vessel that undertakes a long Voyage, which occasions a greater wast of the same; besides that they are not so good, or are sooner spoiled, and that the owners forbear to sell them, when they might do it to advantage, or are forced to lay out a great deal of Money in buying them, from which they might have a good Interest if it had been employed elsewhere.

'Tis not easie to conceive the other inconveniencies which arise from the Depopulation of a Country, into which *France* must of necessity fall, since it Labours already under them; but her Case will be a great deal worse twenty years hence. I confess, as I insinuated before, that if so be the remaining People in *France*, were united and compacted together in half of the Kingdom, forsaking the other half, to any that would have it; that Moeity so peopled, should be worth as much as one half of the Kingdom of *France* was 30 or 40 years ago, provided their Clergy-men, Lawyers and others, which we call unprofitable, in comparison with those that are more profitable, were reduced to a competent number. I shall adventure to say further, That if so be the remnant of the People of the Kingdom were united and gathered together in the fourth part of it, that fourth part should be worth more, and would afford more Revenue than the one half of the Kingdom which should have but the same number of Inhabitants; and I do verily think, that the fourth part so peopled, would be worth more than the Kingdom of *France* ever was, provided they were situated as much as possible, by the Sea side. The Province of *Holland*, as I said before, is but a small Country, but extraordinary rich, because it is extraordinary populous; it is not so much as the 40th part of *England*, and yet may be worth about 4th part of it, tho' I believe it does not contain

tain above the 7th part of the Inhabitants of this Kingdom. And again, *Spain* is three times as big as *England*, and yet is not worth the third part of it; and *Ireland* being 20 times as big as the Province of *Holland*, tho' provided with many good Sea-Ports, and a fruitful Soil, is not worth the third part of that Province, because it is not peopled enough, no more than *Spain*: This I understand with regard to their respective Extent; for absolutely speaking, there are more People in *Ireland* and in *Spain*, taken apart, than is in the Province of *Holland*, there being above a Million of Souls in *Ireland*, and there being apparently a lesser number in *Holland*: As for *Spain*, there may be four or five times that number in it; so that it is not the multitude of People in a large Country of a vast Extent, which makes the Kingdom rich and formidable, but such a Number as is sufficient, not only to Cultivate all the Lands which might and ought to be Cultivated in it, but also may furnish great numbers of Men fit to make a Nation flourish by Arts, Manufactures, Trade, Navigation and Fishing. Now 'tis evident, that *France* is very far from having all the People which are necessary for all those things.

The King and his Ministers, who formed such vast Projects upon the Number of that People, which to them seemed to be infinite, were guilty of a mighty mistake. For *France* might

might and ought to have been two or three times as populous as it was.

Had the French Politicians been as understanding, as they would make us believe them to have been, and as some fancy they really are, they ought to have applied themselves, above all things, to increase the number of the People, and not to make War against all the World, without Conduct or Judgment, nor to have extended themselves in foolish and vain Conquests, as they have done for some time, by which they have dispersed and weakened themselves. There is no Remedy at present for such a Disaster, but if they were able to improve their unhappy Experience, they ought to abandon their Conquests speedily, and restrict themselves into a narrower compass,

Virtus unita fortior. Virtue united is so much the stronger, as did the Emperour

Augustus of old, and even, if they would, after having done this, lay desolate all their Frontier-
Decretum factum de coercendo intra limites Imperio. Tacit.

Provinces, by their Absolute Authority, and withdraw all the People in them with their Effects, and settle the same in the contiguous Maritime Provinces, as much as possible, and give them a Compensation for what they lost, the Prince and his Subjects would get infinitely by it.

I am confident, that instead of 82 millions of Acres that are contained, as I said, in the Kingdom of *France*, on which there are at present

present but 9 millions of Souls, according to our former supposition, which is about 8 Acres for every Soul. I am confident, I say, and it can easily be demonstrated, that 18 Millions of Acres would be sufficient to maintain the said 9 millions of Souls, and they should even enrich themselves extraordinarily, their Industry, Arts, Manufactures, Trade, Navigation, &c. supplying them plentifully with all those things which the Soil could not afford, provided the Government were moderate; and they would be as able in a little time to defend themselves against all Enemies, and even to carry on the War against any Neighbouring Nation, as much and better than ever the *French* Nation was, if there were any necessity for it.

We see that in the Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* there is not above an Acre of Ground for every Soul, whereas I allow two to these; and 'tis probable, that in 7 or 8 of the Counties in *England*, in the midst of which *London* stands, I mean the Country 50 miles round about the great City, 'tis probable, that there is not above 2 Acres of Land for every Soul living in that compass, which maintains perhaps above 1500 thousand Souls. I do not think the extent of Land to be above the 10th part of *England*; it were to no purpose to say, that the *Sea* and the rest of *England*, do furnish them with all necessaries, and with Provision. For it would be the same with that most fine and populous part of *France*,

as I said already, which would also supply the Neighbours with thousand other Commodities of its own.

CHAP. VI.

Prognosticks which may be drawn from the Depopulation of FRANCE.

1. **T**HAT the Kingdom of *France* will not be worth so much as that of *Spain*, in case the War lasts two years longer, because it will be more depopulated.

2. Idleness, Ignorance, Superstition, and all kind of Vices will overflow that Kingdom, instead of Industry, Skill in Arts and Sciences, Learning, good Breeding, and Knowledge of God, which some amongst Papists did still retain, who tho' born in the Roman Communion, did nevertheless detest both Pope and Mass.

3. As the Laws, Customs, and Usages of *France* were composed for a well peopled Country, great inconveniences will arise from thence, unless they are altered, and proportioned by degrees to the condition of that People.

4. Three parts of the Tribunals of Judicature, great and small, or the three parts of those who compose them, must needs fall, as also three parts of the *Generalities*, (that is, the Offices of Treasurers in the Provinces of *France*) *Electiōns*, *Greniers a Sel*, Courts of *Aids*, *Chambres*

bers of *Accounts*, and all other Tribunals or Jurisdicions, must likewise fall, or the number of their Officers be reduced.

5. A great many small Towns and Boroughs will come to nothing, and be abandoned to Batts and Owls, and forgotten as *la Vallone*, a Town in *Normandy*; a great part of Chief Cities in Provinces, and other middling Towns, will decay strangely, and lose some the three parts, some the half of their splendor.

6. What confusion and disorder will not this produce in Cities or Towns, which are the Seat of Tribunals or Jurisdicions? all those places, I say, will come almost to nothing. How many Families formerly wealthy, how many others subsisting by their Means, will be ruined and brought to their wits end, by such a change, when they see themselves undone without remedy.

7. *Rapparees* and *Banditi*, together with Wolves and other Beasts, will swarm in the Kingdom, that being the infallible Fate of all Depopulated Countries.

8. The Kings Revenues, whether he will or no, and whether the Government changes or no, will decrease above the third part in four.

9. Some Lands, which were sold formerly at 20 or 30 years purchase, will be sold at four or five years purchase or less, and if so be the War continues two years longer, they will be worth nothing at all, but entirely left and forsaken in several Provinces of *France*.

10. As it will be more difficult to guard and defend the Kingdom of *France*, when depopulated, and as the Publick Revenues will be mightily decreased, so will Seditions and Insurrections be more difficult to appease and suppress, because they will begin in places remote from Court, or in the richest and most populous parts of the Kingdom, and it may be near the Sea, where the Rebels may be easily assisted by some powerful Neighbour, while the Forces, commanded to suppress the Insurrections, must come from far, and pass thro' desert places, where it will be hard to procure Provisions for them, and erect Magazines; and this in all likelihood, will occasion ere long a dismembring of the French Monarchy, unless the Government be quite changed, and the People be eased and discharged of three parts of the Impositions at least; Let us suppose, for example, that *Bordeaux*, or *Marseille*, which will be still good Towns, and in all likelihood better than they are now, as we see, that notwithstanding the great depopulation of *Spain*, *Barcelonne*, *Seville*, and *Cadiz* are still good and rich Towns; Let us suppose, I say, those Towns and some others remote from *Paris*, would demand a discharge from part of the Impositions paid by others, which they are like to do in all probability, and may thereby obtain Priviledges that will make them flourish, is it not probable that in case the King refuses it, they will rise, and keep

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Correspondence

Correspondence with the *Spaniards* or the *English*? and then what can their King do in such a distraction and weakness of the Monarchy, thro' which his Forces must come thither, and those, where such great Towns *ie.* being depopulated, except the parts adjacent to the said Towns? How shall he be able to help himself if there be an Insurrection in *Bearn* or *Low-Brittany*? The King will be forced for that very reason to abate the impositions all the Kingdom over, but especially in Provinces and Places near the Frontiers: 'Tis like that the *State Provinces*, *Provinces à Etats*, as they call them, such as *Brittain*, *Languedock*, *Burgundy*, and *Provence*, which are governed for the most part by their own States, will desire to be freed from the Usurpations and Invasions made upon their Rights and Priviledges in this Reign.

II. For the same reason it seems altogether impossible that Arbitrary Power can hold out any longer in *France*, when there is such a decay in the French Monarchy; and so much the rather, because of the Neighbourhood of several free and potent Nations which will probably Lord it over *France* in their turn, or at least not be afraid of her as now, such as the *English*, *Dutch* and *Spanish* Subjects in the *Netherlands*, or in the County of *Burgundy*, and the *German* and *Italians*, amongst which the *French* Subjects may retire, if oppressed for the future, or make an Insurrection, and withdraw from
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the *French* Government, either by submitting to another, or changing the form of their own; for the working sort of 'em, when they see their Labour doth not avail them in *France*, and that elsewhere they may get three or four times as much a day, without any fear of being deprived by a Tyrannical Government of the fruits of their Industry; what a mighty temptation will it be for them to transplant themselves thither? for we must consider that the *French* People are reduced in a little time from a Flourishing Condition to a State of Extream Misery, and that they remember that they were formerly more at ease; it must be also considered, that they have some generosity, are industrious, active and diligent, and love to work; So that seeing such an amazing Alteration in the Kingdom, and that 'tis impossible to get their Livelihood by their Labour; and hearing that *England*, *Holland*, *Germany*, and other Countries are in a prosperous and thriving condition, that all Strangers are welcom amongst them, and enjoy perfect Liberty, there's no question but they will fly thither. For they are not of the temper of *Spaniards* or *Irish*, who being born in a depopulated Country, are brought up in Idleness and Sluggishness, especially the *Irish*, where by too great an Indulgence of the former Reigns, the Idolatrous Priests have besorted them, perswading them that 'tis better to live in Laziness and do nothing, than to work; to live upon Milk and Potatos, to Lodge in Cottages

and Hutts, which any man may make in three or 4 days time, and to rob and pilfer, than to labour, and live more honestly, with Credit and Reputation. Such of the *French* as were born in Cities and Towns, or those who frequented such Places, will rather perish in other Countries, than live so miserably at home; so that *France* will in a little time be as much depopulated as those Countries, and the remainder of its people become as degenerate.

12. The Ports of *Brest*, *Rochfort*, *Port Louis*, *Toulon*, with all the *Admiralties* in *France*, will decay and be brought to nothing, because *France* will not be able for the future to maintain great numbers of Men of war, as well thro' her want of Ability, as because there is reason to think that Liberty will not be allowed her.

13. *France* will not be any more able to bribe the Ministers of Foreign Princes, their Counsellors, nor the Officers of their Armies, nor to maintain great Correspondencies, or many Spies in their Courts.

14. By such a sudden Depopulation of the Kingdom, the Disorder will be much greater and more universal, than if it had been done by degree, as that of *Spain*; all the Subjects will be in an Extream Confusion and Perplexity; all things will be in disorder there.

15. The Countries remote from Sea-Ports, and big Towns, will become Wildernesess in less than 20 years, like *Ireland*. The less fruitful Lands will be yet more apt to be abandoned than

than the rest, unless they be situated near such Places. The wealthy Church-men, and many of the Civil Officers that are rich, and others, who may have some Money left, will draw in to themselves the poor Husbandmen and Labourers, in order to have their own Estates near those great Towns, inhabited and tilled, and will use them better than others shall be able to do, because they are opulent, and the poor Wretches will run over to them by reason of that, and because of the great Trade and Plenty of Money in those Places.

16. In that great Scarcity of Men fit to Cultivate the Ground, great many People who by their Estate, Dignity or Profession, had been formerly exempted from working, because they could live without it, will turn Husbandmen, Vineyard-keepers, and Gardners, rather than be starved, and have their Ground untilled and unmanured; this will be a good Effect of a bad Cause.

17. Few Inns will be kept on the High-ways for want of Travellers, and Trade; as also by reason of the multitude of Thieves, which very thing will contribute much towards the Ruining of several little Towns and Boroughs, to which the Passage of Travellers thro' their Road, was profitable.

18. The Posts Offices, Carriages of Messengers by Land and Water, Horses, Hackney-Coaches, and Chairs, will be diminished by three parts at least over all the Kingdom.

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19. High-ways will become unpassable, because not mended, and Bridges over Rivers and Brooks will be all broken down.

20. The Banks of Rivers, which render them Navigable, will be all overthrown for want of People, and of means to keep them in repair; and also because, that altho' they were mended, they would be useless for want of Trade; and the like will befall the Water-Mills upon the same Rivers, most of which are already fallen to nothing.

21. For the same reason the Bank of the great River *de Loire*, which is called *la Leuee*, and of other great Rivers that are in the same case, cannot be maintained; The *Channel of the two Seas*, as they call it, will be filled up, for even at present it would go to Ruine, were it not for the Vanity of the present French King who made it. I am confident also, that after his death, *Versailles*, with all its Gardens and Water-works, will be forsaken, and with good reason too, to be the Retreat of Owls, Crows and Batts, because of the vast Expence it requires to keep and maintain it in order, and by reason of the bad Air of the Place; for nothing but the King's Vanity, which induced him to undertake those two Pieces of work, maintains them at present.

22. France will infallibly lose her *Plantations* in the *East* and *West-Indies*, before 20 years come about, because they are fit for the English and Dutch, against whom the French will not be able

able to keep them; and it seems indeed more convenient for the French to confine themselves to their Antient Limits, and to apply themselves only to Manufactures, and Husbandry, and to the re-peopling of their Country, if possible.

23. Of all the French Cities and Towns, *Paris* will be the best able to withstand all those Calamities, provided the King's Court, the Superiour Courts of Judicature, and all the Tribunals and Jurisdictions that are in it, together with the University, be maintained there. But the King must needs diminish the number of Officers in the said Tribunals and Jurisdictions very much, and in general all sorts of Officers whatsoever, or else it will be impossible for them to subsist; for the Provinces and Countries which resort to *Paris*, and depend upon the said Tribunals, Offices and Jurisdictions, would not be able to maintain them now that they are ruined and depopulated to such a degree. The Number also of great Lords, and other wealthy Persons, will decrease, as well as their Wealth, and so will the Number of all Civil and Military Officers of the Kingdom, and even that of the *Clergy* and of the *General Hospitals*; so that unquestionably *Paris* will lose much of its former Glory and Splendor, unless the King destroys several of their Parliaments, and Inferiour Tribunals and Jurisdictions, as also some of the nearest Universities, and re-unites them to those of

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Paris, in which case a great number of the most Opulent People who are in those places and stations would come to live at *Paris*. Yet 'tis also true, that it would totally sink and destroy the Provinces and Towns where such Companies do now reside. But the French King did always regard *Paris* more than all the rest of the Kingdom, which indeed it appears he minded very little; so that that City were thriving, or at least in splendor: If he should take possession of the Revenues of the Regular Clergy, who are unprofitable to the Nation and the Church, and give Pensions to many thousand Officers or Knights who should Reside at *Paris*, it would do a great deal of good to that City; else it will lose very much because of the Reasons already alledged, and by the diminution of the number of their Forces, which cannot be less than that of three parts; for it furnished a great part of them with Cloaths, Hatts, Shoes, Woollen and Linnen; the most part of Officers came thither every year, to pass part of the Winter, which was of great advantage to that City, because of the Money they spent there.

24. It would not be perhaps a very hard matter to tell which of the other Cities and Towns of the Kingdom, will subsist best after *Paris*; some of them which are already considerable, will increase, as I said, of *Bordeaux* and *Marseille*, rather than decay; and perhaps some others, as *Metz*, &c. for the Reasons I hinted

hinted at before. The most part of the other best Towns, will, I am apt to think, decay by the half of what they were 30 years ago, tho' they may subsist better than some others. *Lions*, for example, will do the better, because of its being near to *Switzerland*, *Savoy*, and *Italy*, &c. and that it stands between *Paris* and *Marseille*, and upon a great River; *Rouen* may also uphold it self by reason of its Port, River, and proximity to *Paris*, and because it is the Head City of the best Province in *France*, provided the King does not take away its Parliament, and other Tribunals and Offices, to Re-unite them to those of *Paris*. These Towns that are near the Sea, with Harbours belonging to them, will also maintain themselves a little, as *Calais*, *Diep*, *Havre de Grace*, *St. Malo*, and *Nants*: This last will subsist better than any of those I just now named, by reason of the River *Loire*; whereas 'tis like, no other Town by that River will subsist without decaying 3 parts at least, *Tours* and *Orleans* not excepted. *Rochel* will also fall very much as to its Wealth and Trade, but not so much as the other Towns in the Main Land; its Garrison will uphold it a little also, tho' on the other side, Garrisons do not agree well with Trading Towns. I say already, that *Bourdeaux* and *Marseille* will increase. *Bayon*, I believe, will decay, but not so much as *Rochel*, by reason of its Port, and the Neighbourhood of *Spain*. *Toulon* will quite fall. All other head Cities in the Provinces will probably

probably decay of three fourths, except those already mentioned, unless they become Frontiers, thro' some advantage gained by Enemies, or thro' any dismembring of the Monarchy, &c. but *Poitiers*, *Xaintes*, *Angoulesme*, *Limoges*, *Perigueux*, *Gahors*, *Auch*, *Tboulouze* (unless *Languedock* revolt) *Pau*, (unless the Parliament does also revolt) *Aix*, *Grenoble*, *Dijon* (unless the County of *Bangundy* be restored to the Crown of *Spain*) in which case the Dutchy would be spared, *Bourg* in *Bresse*, *Forez*, the large Towns of *Champaigne*, *Chalons*, *Rheims*, *Troye*, will all come to nothing; as also *Chartres*, *Vendome*, *Bellême*, *le Mans*; and even *Angers*, I think, notwithstanding its so advantageous Situation over three Navigable Rivers, and near a fourth yet more considerable, viz. *Loire*, will, I believe, decay one half, but not so much as those mentioned before; *Rennes* will bear up, if that great Province of *Brittany*, whereof is it the Head, doth but shew its teeth, and if its Parliament be maintained; *Nevers*, *Moulins*, *Clermont*, *Rion*, *Bourges*, *Gueret*, *Rhodesz*, will be reduc'd almost to nothing, and all the rest of the Towns in the Kingdom, except perhaps some little ones, which I have forgot on the Coasts of the Ocean, and that are inconsiderable; *Caen* may uphold it self a little, by reason of its small River and Proximity to the Sea, as also because of its fruitful Soil, but it will decay by above the half. *Montpellier* and *Nismes* may also bear up; and I believe that great Province

vince of *Languedoc*, so mighty powerful, being so near *Spain*, and so remote from *Paris*, and a Province having States, and not far from the Sea, tho' without Harbours, will one day make it self free.

25. Almost all the Universities will fall to nothing.

26. A Civil War in *France* seems to be unavoidable, and may perhaps begin speedily after the Peace; for what can they do with so many discontented People, who will be all ruined, and brought into despair? what can they do with so many Troops that must be disbanded, and starve, and who are used to procure themselves necessities by violent ways?

27. In case there be no Civil War, which it is like there will, part of the Province of *Picardy*, which holds up as yet a little, part of the Country adjacent to *Metz*, called *Pais Messin*, as also part of the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, and of *Roussillon*, will not decay so much as some other parts of the Kingdom of *France*, because of their being Frontiers to *Spain*, or to the Spanish Netherlands, to *Lorraine*, and to the County of *Burgundy*, which three last are like to be restored to their natural Land-Lords. Part of *Normandy* also will not decay so much as others, by reason of its proximity to the Sea, and to *Roüen* and *Paris*; but that part of the Province which is plentiful in Pastures by which it makes at present great profits, because the Importing of the Irish Salt-beef, Butter and Cheese

Cheefe is obstructed ; that part, I say, will lose much in those things by the Peace, because *Ireland* can afford them cheaper, as formerly it did

28. There will be little Exportation of Commodities from *France*, and the small Trade which she had from one Maritime-Province to another, will all fall into the hand of Strangers.

29. The Pope, the Monks, and especially the Jesuites, will domineer over *France* more than ever, which will be both an effect of the weakness of the Royal Authority, and at the same time will occasion a Great and Universal Contempt of the said Authority.

30. The Priests for the future will hardly be able to read, by reason that if heretofore none almost did bring up their Children to be Priests, but Peasants and Artists, when they had something wherewithal to live, they cannot do it now, for want of Means ; 'tis probable that in Cities and great Towns, and there only, some that have yet something whereon to live, may bring up some of their Children to School, to endeavour to get the best Church-livings for them, if so be the King does not appropriate them to better Uses. We must expect that the Clergy, how abominable soever it may be at present in general, some few excepted, will be much more disorderly and scandalous for the future ; not only for the Reasons above-mentioned, but because Protestants

testants are banished out of that Country. Many more Miracles will be done in it, the Church-man's Imposture increasing by degrees proportionably to the People's Ignorance and Licentiousness, as is to be seen in *Spain, Portugal and Italy.*

31. *France* will undoubtedly lose *Dunkirk* by the Peace, if King *William* desires it earnestly.

32. After the Peace, there will be as many Beggars as now, because of the infinite number of Families which cannot be recovered again from their total ruine, especially those who are destitute of Men, the others being not able to help them. Besides this, all things will be turn'd up side down, and many more Lands abandoned, by the product of which many Widows and Orphans did live.

33. The State of the People cannot be fixed in twenty years after the Peace; I mean, that the People will not be certain whether Debtors shall be obliged to pay their Debts contracted before the Peace, nor how they shall pay them, and at what rates, and on what footing Creditors will take their Lands or Houses in payment; whether many Tribunals of Judicature and Offices will be abolished; or whether the King will not rather turn out the 2 third parts, or the 3 fourths of all the Officers, and so forth, in the *Generalities, Courts of Aides, Chambers of Accounts, Courts of the Mint, Elections, Salt Stores, &c.* How many of them will be turned

turned off, and which; who shall lose their Places, and whether the King will reimburse them or not, and how far; If the Debtors, or Civil Officers, or other Persons with whom they have to deal, are to lose all, or whether their Debts are being paid, they shall yet have some remainder, and how much, for there will be 9 parts of 10 who won't have a Farthing left; whether the French Protestants shall be re-established or not; whether the King will always keep on foot such a prodigious number of Officers and Souldiers by Land and Sea, as he did before this War; how many thousands he shall cashier; and which Regiments or Offices; whether he will play the Bankrupt or not to all those who lent him Money, and how far he will pay or indemnify them, and so forth; Then as to all old and new Offices which he may annul, how far he will reimburse those who bought them; whether he shall be able to do it, and how; whether he will diminish the Expences of his Household, and the number of Officers belonging to the same; whether he has a mind to govern always despotically, or to take advice of the States of the Kingdom as formerly, without whose consent he shall not be able to impose any Taxes on the People; whether a Civil War is to be feared in the Kingdom or no; whether the King shall not make use of another method in the Administration of Justice to his Subjects, by saving so much Expence, and preventing

preventing delays of Justice which are so ruinous to them, and which will be so much the more troublesome and oppressive after the Peace, that instead of the quietness and ease which they expect and stand so much in need of, they will be exposed to the ravings of hungry Lawyers, who will prolong and protract the proceedings of innumerable Suits that will arise from so many alterations and changes that have happened in Families by the War; for I dare venture to say, that no Family in the Kingdom will be free from such troubles; People must know also, whether the King will not change the method of raising the Imposts, whether by Farmers and their Commissioners, and other such Tools, who lie so heavy upon the Nation, or by a more reasonable way; and whether the Interest of Money will be at 8, or 10, or 15 *per cent*; Whether Lands will be sold at 3, or 6, or 8, or 10 years purchase, or on some other foot, and several other such things; Whether the half or the two-thirds of Lands in the Kingdom will be abandoned, and what will become of all those forsaken Estates; which Provinces or Countries will be the most depopulated. Till People are informed exactly of all those things and others, and till the State of the Nation is fixed accordingly, Lands, Houses and Offices cannot be disposed of, nor bought nor sold, but this cannot be so soon regulated. The King must fix another rate for Offices, very much below that
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which they were valued at before, if so be he intends to keep up the sale of them, or else the number of them must needs fall prodigiously.

34. There will happen an innumerable multitude of Suits at Law between Families, by reason of Successions, Portions, Debts, and those who have Money, and keep it, will be more prudent than if they bestowed it upon corrupt Judges, to buy from them other Mens Estates, which will not be worth so much as the Money given to the Lawyers, for after the Peace no Estate in *France* will be comparable to Money.

35. The French Tongue, the Modes and Fashions, and the good Breeding of *France*, will not be so much esteemed in Foreign Courts, and none will have so great respect hereafter for their Kings as formerly. The time is come wherein it will be thought, that all those refiners of the French Tongue have employed their time very ill about it, and all their Refinings will be very much neglected, and they shall not be able to preserve it from degenerating, no more than the good Breeding and Delicacy of that Nation; all these things will come to nothing by the Extream Poverty and Ignorance into which the People of *France* will fall irrecoverably.

36. The Enemies of *France*, who may have hereafter a propension to make use of Traitors, will find Men enough of that stamp in the Kingdom, the King's Authority being so much decayed, as well as his Power; and the Poverty

verty taking hold of the Nation, Perfidiousness, Treachery, and Violence will increase proportionably among the Subjects, and it will be more easie than ever to bribe Judges, and all kinds of People.

37. Interest of Money will rise notably in *France* after the Peace, which will make an end of all the rest of the Manufactures and Trade in that Kingdom, if there be any remaining, or at least it will hinder them from being ever re-established. As for the restoring of Manufactures, I shall not say, that it is impossible to restore them to their former State, but even to any considerable degree, because they have been set up, and are well improved in Foreign Countries by the Refugees.

38. The number of Curats, and other Secular Priests, must needs decrease, by reason that Parishes will not be able to maintain such great numbers of them, above the half of the Men being perished. Their case thro' all the Kingdom, will be probably the same with that of Curates in some parts of *Picardy*, and in the Land of *Artois*, where the Parishes are but small; there a Curate says Mass every day in two Parishes, that are not in a capacity to maintain each a Curate: 'Tis easily conceived, that their Private Comings in, are now worth much less to them, than formerly; and the Time will grow worse and worse for them, whether it be Peace or not, since we see already several Provinces almost deserted, and

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many Borroughs and Villages that have not the fourth part of Inhabitants they had before this War, Mortality and Famine having snatcht away most of the rest. All the places situated on the Roads, that are obnoxious to the Rudeness of Soldiers, have been abandoned, because of the Marches, Counter-marches and Quarterings of the Troops, as I said already. 'Tis easie to conceive those places are much depopulated, and that a Curate can't fare well there; it may be two or three Parishes will be turned to one; I confess it will be a great trouble to People, to go so far to Church. But what other Remedy is there, if they cannot maintain one in every Parish, as they did hitherto? As for Parishes, that have several Priests, they must needs turn them all out except one, for few of them will be able to keep more.

39. The Military Art and Discipline will visibly degenerate in *France*, and Men grow less courageous and even cowardly, as Men usually do in depopulated, poor, and slavish Countries, unless the King applies, as I have said already, the Revenues of the *Monks* and *Nuns*, for the constant maintenance of multitudes of brave Officers for his Emergencies, not to make Conquests any more, God forbid, but only for the Defence of his Kingdom, and of his Allies.

40. Painting, Sculpture, Engraving, Architecture, and many other Trades less necessary,
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and which serve only for Curiosity, Ornament, or Luxury, will fall entirely. The useful ones are already very much decayed, but they will decay yet more.

41. The scarcity of People will occasion all Servants to be dear every where in the Kingdom, so that I believe they will be constrained to give leave to buy *Negroes*, as is practised in *Spain* and *Portugal*, and as all Christian Nations do in *America*; and that the Law prohibiting to keep Slaves in *France* will be altered. We may observe by the way, what a great Change hath happened in the French Government, since the Establishment of that Law, for then they were good natur'd to all Mankind, nay even to Heathens, and the most barbarous and remote People; whereas at this day they deal with the Natives, their Fellow-Citizens, and Christians, worse than others do with Slaves any where, nay even worse than with brute Beasts, whose Owners take care to maintain them well for the service they do, whereas the Rulers in *France*, do not allow the People who work more than Slaves or Beasts, to fill their Bellies with Bread, and sacrifice them besides every day by thousands to their Princes Ambition and Vanity.

42. There will be no more Sumptuousness in Buildings, Furniture of Houses, Tables, nor Equipages in *France*, tho' Luxury indeed will always be extravagant, yet it must be less than it was formerly, because of their great Poverty.

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43. Universities, Academies, Colledges and Schooles will decrease strangely in number; So that I do not believe *France* will stand in need for the future of more Universities than there are in *Spain*, viz. three, instead of almost twenty that are there at present, besides the Academies and Colledges, &c. The Profits of Doctors or Masters, are already fallen more than 9 parts in 10, for want of Students and Money.

44. The number of Comedians, Rope-dancers, Musicians, Fiddlers, Dancing-masters, Fencing-masters and such like, will decrease yearly more and more, tho' there be not at present the 10th part of what there was 30 years ago.

45. Parents able to bestow Money upon their Children, will desire them to settle in Sea-ports, or in the best and least ruined Cities, which we named before.

46. In that general Desolation, few Refugees will think of returning to *France*, except those who are here in Extream Want, and who did possess Lands and Houses in *France*, in case the free Exercise of their Religion be restored. On the contrary, 'tis like that many new Converts will leave *France*, what precaution soever be taken to hinder their escape, if so be, as I said before, they are not restored to their Ancient Liberty of Conscience. But I question very much, whether they shall be re-established therein, during *Lewis* the XIV. Reign, unless it be by the potent interposition of King *William*,

William, and of the other Protestant Allies, tho' it be the Kingdoms Interest to do it speedily; for it seems that, notwithstanding the lamentable condition to which he hath reduced that flourishing Kingdom, he comforts himself with the thoughts of the mischief he hath done to the Protestant Party in it, and even glories in having, as he thinks, quite destroyed the Reformed Religion there, and I incline to think that he will look upon what he has done as the only Ressource of Glory left him; and I do not doubt in the least but that his Counsel of Conscience, *Father la Chaise* and *Madame Maintonon* do bless themselves in it, and fortifie the King in such imaginations; and that the Court of Rome will keep him by their secret, but powerful influences in that frame of mind, giving him hopes perhaps of a degree of Glory above St. *Lewis*, and next to St. *Dominic*, and *Ignatius Loyola* in their Heaven: But I am confident, that they will contrive and endeavour to find out some *Medium* to catch the Refugies in their Net, I mean both as to Soul and Body, for as 'tis against the Clergy's Interest or rather Passion, and even against the false Glory of that King, that the French Protestants should be restored to the Condition they were in before the Violation of the Edicts, and that their Religion should be authorized; so 'tis also against the Kingdoms Interest, that it should lose for ever so many useful Subjects; So that I make no doubt, but they

will make use of all Tricks and Subtilties imaginable to draw them in by a kind of Toleration, which would do their business if the Refugees were Fools ; for by that means a great many would come to them with what Estates they have carried away, and the new Converts would have no mind to leave the Kingdom, and yet their Religion should be destroyed for ever ; and they will also according to the usual method of *Rome*, bribe ambitious and wordly Preachers amongst them, to divide them in their Opinions, as 'tis like they actually do, in order to bring them to Popery again, by the Back-door, according to the Maxim *Divide & Impera* And I am of opinion also that in order to hinder the restoration of true *Christianity* in that Kingdom, the Jesuits will put the French King upon the Design of Destroying *Geneva* and the *Protestant Switzers* and make him believe that it will be a compensation for the Destruction of his Kingdom, and that it is the most glorious thing he can do ; and for that reason they will, it may be, spare the *Vandois* for some time, to disguise their Design.

47. Several Lackeys, Servants and such sort of Men, having got some Impleys and Preferments in this War, will be apt to insult and despise their Ancient Lords and Masters, who are reduced to Poverty and totally ruined, and a great deal of insolence will be seen every where.

48. Se-

48. Several Widows of Quality and Young Ladys, whose number is three times greater than that of Men of their own rank, will Marry below their Degree, nay, even Servant-men, rather than be Unmarried.

49. The *Gabelle*, or Excise upon Salt must needs fall ; such an Enormous Tax cannot subsist any longer in the most part of the Provinces and great Towns of the Kingdom, or else the price of Salt must be reduced to a reasonable rate, as a Penny a Pound, and not to 10, or 12, or 15 pence *per cent.* as the King sells it at present. The Kingdom will never endure the *Gabeleurs*, that is, the Exactors of that Imposition, any more, when the K. is not able to keep great Forces on foot, and that those he maintains must be kept on the Frontiers ; So that I am of opinion, that the People will not any longer be so patient, and besides they will not be in condition to pay so many Taxes, for of a long time they have been compelled to pay those excessive Taxes by the terrour of the Forces, who would not have failed in a little time to have overflowed the *Cities* and *Provinces* that should have refused to pay 'em ; for, as I said elsewhere, we may truly say that the French Government, is altogether Military, and that the Subjects are treated worse even in time of Peace, than other Countrys use to be, when invaded by Armies of Enemies, even at the time when they are about subduing of them.

50. Such

50. Such as did earnestly covet a long time to joyn his Neighbours Land or Field to his own, and could not attain it, find now adays very often an occasion to do it, and to purchase for a little Sum of Money, that for which they would have formerly paid ten times more, but they are in danger to repent after the Peace, when they shall see too late, that by the utter Desolation of the Kingdom, the thing purchased is not worth the Money; And they are even in danger before the *Peace* is made, to pay to the *King* for that very purchase, such Taxes as will amount to 3 or 4 times as much as they gave to the Seller.

51. Such as have many Lands, and see that they are not so much depopulated as others, and who flatter themselves with hopes that their Farmers and Peasants will stay in their Farms, because they are fixed there at present, will be very much deceived, when after the Peace they shall see that those Farmers and Clowns will leave him, and remove, it may be, ten or twelve Leagues farther with their Families, where they will find Lands for nothing, or much cheaper than theirs was; and every one will endeavour to draw in the Farmers and Servants one of another, and rather than see their Land untill'd and forsaken, will give it out *gratis* for a certain number of years; and supply the Peasants with all necessaries to Manure it; and I am confident, that even at this present, the prudent sort, who have Lands of their own,

do practise it in several places. Some Provinces and Countries are less depopulated than others, (through Mortality and Famine) have been; but I am sure that those who have great Estates in Land in the Countries most depopulated, as in the adjacent parts to *Paris*, will use their utmost Endeavours to draw in the Peasants of other places; and this will do more mischief to the Kingdom, than if every one did stay in the most depopulated Country, as I have demonstrated it elsewhere. 'Tis true, that as for the adjacent parts of *Paris*, there is, it seems, an indispensable Necessity to Re-people them again, because of the City, but unless there be a great Moderation of the Taxes on those parts, 'tis impossible that Country should be ever Re-peopled again; for it must be known, that there is hardly any part of the Kingdom so oppressed with Impositions, as that is. Formerly one could see nothing about *Paris* but Towns, large and rich Boroughs, well-built and peopled; but even before the beginning of this War, they were much ruined, and 'tis certain that all is desert there at present.

52. I do not think that *Paris* in a hundred years hence, can be so well peopled, as it was thirty years ago. The Revenues of the King and of the great Persons at *Paris*, (and even in all the Kingdom in general, being sunk as they are, not half the Commodities will be consumed there, as was formerly.

53. If

53. By the Ancient Government of *France*, viz. by the general Estates of the Kingdom, were re-established again, as Passion, Ambition, vain Gl^y and Superstition, would domineer less, and Reason and the true Interest of the Nation would be more hearkned to, in that case the Reformed Religion would be restored: But *Rome* will oppose it with all her Power and Interest, and 'tis like the Inquisition will be set up in *France*, as 'tis in *Spain*, *Portugual*, and *Italy*, against the Protestant Religion.

54. The number of Usurers will be much greater in *France* after the Peace than ever; this will be the most ordinary way to improve Money to the best advantage, the Manufactures and Trade being ruined, and the Real Estates being brought to nothing, as well as the Offices.

55. As soon as the Peace is made, the King will squeeze all the Farmers general and particular of Impositions, which he is obliged to indulge now, because they advance him Money, and by that means he shall get yet vast Sums.

56. Those who have yet some remainder of their former Estates, I mean, those who having paid their Debts, shall have yet some Lands Major'd in the Country, or some Houses inhabited in the Citys, may live as easily, I think, after *Lewis* the XIV. Death, with their small Estates as they did 20 years ago, by reason that tho' they shall not enjoy perhaps the 4th part of the Revenue they had before, Taxes will be diminished 3 parts at least, and the King

or

or his Successor will not, 'tis probable, form any Projects of Conquests so soon. But I confess, a Civil War, as I said already, is mightily to be feared, because there will not be found one Man amongst twenty, but what will be utterly ruined. I grant, that those Persons, who have some remainder of their former Estates, will not be able to take a Journey now and then to *Paris* to divert themselves, as was usual, because Provisions will still continue to be dear there, nor will they be capable to send their Children a-far off, in order to Study or Travel, because Money will continue long to be scarce, and their Revenues too small, to be spent abroad. Their case will be much like that of those *Irish* who possess some Estates at a great distance from *Dublin*.

56. The number of the King's Officers, and of the Princes and Princesses Household, must needs decrease very much, as also their Salaries. The number of Governments and Governours of Cities, Towns, Castles, Forts, &c. will decrease also, as well as their Sallaries. The number of the Forces and of their Officers by Land and Sea, and of the Gallies will decrease, as also their Wages. And the like will happen to all Civil Officers, as I have said already; and all things will be in an incredible confusion in that Kingdom.

The most clear-sighted Men in *France*, do not conceive the Degree of the Kingdoms Ruine. All those who have yet some Estate left, fancy themselves

themselves to be richer than really they are, tho' they acknowledge and say they are ruined.

This mistake has been mighty favourable to the Kings Affairs a long time, by reason that many Money'd Men judging of the Affairs of the *King* and *Kingdom* to be in a better condition than they are, did scruple less to lend him Money, or to buy some of the new Offices, and even Lands or Houses, and so did lay out their Money, which came at last into the Kings Hands.

The best remedy that I know, to repair the prodigious Losses of the People of *France*, and to restore the Kingdom to its former Populoufness, which I confess cannot be done perfectly in 2 hundred years time, would be to make Peace as soon as possible, whatever it may cost, and then to change the Form of the present Government, and to re-establish the Ancient Government of a *King* with the Counsel of the general Estates of the *Kingdom*, such as is now in *England*; and moreover, to renounce all Conquests; to allow all Liberty and Security to French and Foreign Protestants; to abolish the Buying and Selling all sorts of Offices; not to let out the Impositions of the Kingdom to Farmers, and to put out of their Places all those who are dipt in such Tyrannical Methods; and to set all Monks and Nuns at liberty; to give leave to Subjects to buy Slaves, and to Marry them together, in order to get Children by them, and that they should continue

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to be Slaves, both they and their Children, unless their Masters consent to their being made free, considering that their condition would still be a great deal better than would have been in their Native Country, and that 'tis much less against Reason and Religion to use them so, than 'tis to Tyrannize, as is done amongst most of the Christian Nations in Europe, over Christians that are born such, and free-born also, and to keep them in bondage, as is done particularly in *France*, where their condition is worse for the most part, than that of the Galley-slaves, nay, even of Beasts, as I have said already.

It would also be convenient to buy a certain number of Men yearly from the *Switzers*, and *German* Princes (since they make a Trade of them) not to make Slaves of 'em, but in order to distribute Lands to them, which they should Cultivate, and to treat them as the rest of Subjects, with moderation, equity, and kindness.

CHAP.

CHAP VII.

*A List of the principal Impositions and Taxes
in the Kingdom of FRANCE.*

I Do not believe that there is any Man in the Kingdom of *France*, that can give an account of all the Impositions and Taxes under which that People groans, so numerous are they. But I have here thought fit to present you with a Catalogue of all that I can recollect. Every Province has some special Tax which is unknown to any other, and sometimes they have strange Denominations, as from those that first invented them, or were the Farmers of them, or from the place where they began to be established, or from the odd Language of some Provinces, which is not understood by the People of any other, or from some other reason ; if any Man would, or rather could tell the manner in which every one of them is raised, and what Revenue it brings in to the King, and the first Origin of them, it would require a very large Book.

There is a great many of'em always standing as well in Peace as in War upon all Real Estates, Houses and Lands, and very severe too ; as also upon Personal Estates, and upon Money lent
or

or hoarded up ; upon the Industry of Men and Women ; Upon all Offices either of Judicature, Finances, or Civil Government, and other Offices which are innumerable ; upon every thing that is eat or drunk, or serves for cloathing ; upon all sorts and conditions of Men and Women generally, and even upon Publick Beggars ; upon every thing imported or exported, either in or out of the Kingdom, or from one Province or City in the Kingdom to another ; and there are several new ones invented every day, which cross and destroy one another, for what is got by the one is lost by the other, the Kingdom being so horridly exhausted.

I don't undertake to ennumerate them all, as I said above, but only those which are come to my knowledge, with some of their Names in *English* and some in *French*, because they cannot well be translated.

L'Ayde, the Aid.

L'OËtroy.

Le Preciput.

L'Equivalent, the Equivalent.

Taxe, 'tis a special Tax so called.

Taille, a very hard Tax.

Taillon.

Subvention.

Etape, Staple for the Soldiers.

For the Utensil of Soldiers.

For the Subsistence.

For

For the Garrifons.
 For the Morte-pays.
 For the Wages of Governours.
 For the Kings Debts and Affairs.
 For Extraordinary Gratifications.
 For the Free-gift.
 Expences of Recovery and Accomptability.

The Taxes upon Land-Estates and Houfes do oftentimes exceed what the Proprietor gets from them, at least one half, and many are willing to yield them up for the Tax, who are not admitted to do it.

There are Taxes upon Drink, *as follows*,
 Aids or Subsidies upon Wines.

Upon Cyder.

Brandy.

Beer.

Vinegar.

Verjuice.

Chocolate, Tea, Sorbek, Coffee, and generally upon all other Liquid Things, or that wherewith any Drink can be made.

It is also to be noted, that the Excise upon Win goes sometimes in Cities far above the price of the Commodity, and seeing that since the War, the poor Working-people in Cities, who were used formerly to drink some Wine, could not buy it, for want of Money, but drank a little Brandy instead of it, they have doubled the Excise upon Brandy.

And

And then there's another upon Liquors.

Le Fanjage, the Duty for gaging.

Le Courtage.

Le Souquet.

Le Patac.

Imposts and Billots.

Observe, there is such a horrid Severity and Tyranny used in the Cities and all other Towns, Borroughs and Villages as to the Wine, that if so be a Friend did send any Bottles of his Wine to another Friend who has none so good, or to any Sick Person, he is presently accused of defrauding the Kings Excise, and is in danger to be Imprisoned and lose all his Estate, or a great part of it, for it must be understood that, besides what all the Wine pays generally at the Gates of every considerable Town, for the Duty which is very high, the Vintners in all Towns, Borroughs and Villages pay besides other great Duties upon every Vessel of Wine they sell, and that their Cellars are every day visited, searched and gaged by many hundreds of Rascals appointed for that purpose, who have great Wages allowed them, and because many Gentlemen and Burghers have some Wine from their own Vineyards, for which they pay at the Gates of every great Town, the Farmers of the Impositions, who have an unlimited Authority, will not suffer them to send out of their Houses not so much as a Bottle of their own Wine, pretending that there is so much the less consumed in the

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Taverns;

Taverns ; and that the Profits are so much the lesser, and whosoever does it, is in danger to be Imprisoned and totally ruined.

Then there's an Excise upon all Eatables.

The *Gabelle* or Tax upon all sorts of Corn and Meal, which is received at the Markets, Mills and other places, under the Name of *Mesure d'Octroy*, or *Mesure coupee* ; that is, Measure of Octroy, or cut Measure. And there have been some Additions to that Duty since the War.

The Duty upon all Cattle generally, called *Le Pié fourché*, this is raised in the Roads.

Several *Deniers* besides, by Pound-weight, upon all sorts of Meat in the Shambles or Slaughter-house.

The Imposts, which is raised in all the great Towns under the Name of *Entries* upon all sorts of Cattle, upon wild and tame Fowl, Butter, Cheese, Fresh-water Salt and dry Fish, Eggs, Fruits, Milk and things made of Milk, Herbs, Roots, Oranges, Lemons, Swine-breads, Chestnuts, Nuts, Apples, Pears, Mushrooms and generally upon all sorts of things which may be eaten ; as also upon Timber and Fire-wood, upon Charcoal, Hay, Oats, &c.

Those Duties are so intollerably high in the great Towns, that reckoning those on Liquors, Cloathing-Stuffs, &c. and other Commodities imported into *Paris* ; it was generally said, that the *Entries* of *Paris* alone did bring in to the King above 20 Millions of *Livers*, and at present

sent 'tis one of the best Branches of the French King's Revenue, tho' it must be diminished one half at least since the War, because of the Decrease and Poverty of the People.

Observe that all the Cities and great Towns are walled, and that there is at the Gates of them a kind of Watch-houses, where the Farmers of Impositions, do post men Armed, who visit all sorts of Persons, that they should not import any thing into it, without paying the Customs or Excise, and if any is found defrauding the Excise, the Men are sent to the Gallies if they are poor, and the Women whipped by the Hang-man, and if so be they have any Estate, they lose all or most part of it, and stand at the Farmers mercy, tho' the thing be not worth sometimes half a Crown. Any Lord or Gentleman coming thither in a *Coach* or on *Horseback* is obliged to stop at the Gate, till they have visited his *Coach, Mails, and Trunks*, and searched his *Man* and *Himself*, and that in the middle of the Kingdom; and if a Pound of Salt or any other Commodity was found upon them, all his Equipage would be forfeited, his Person Imprisoned, and Condemned to pay vast Sums of *Money*: Altho' the fraud should not import Two Pence loss to the Farmer.

And at such Gates of Towns several things pay almost as much Duty as they cost at first buying.

The *Gabelle* or Excise upon Salt, which is so exorbitant, that Salt which is Nature's Gift, and upon the Sea-Coast, where it is made almost without Charges, does not stand Foreign Merchants a Farthing *per pound*, is sold to the Subjects for 10, 12 and 14 pence *per pound*.

There are above a thousand great Offices of Salt-Excise, called *Bureaux*, or *Greniers à sel* who have each of them several Officers both great and small, belonging to them; and several thousands of other Men in Towns, Boroughs and Villages, who fetch it from such Granaries, and sell it to the People for 10 or 12 pence a pound or more. And besides them, the Collectors of the *Salt-Excise* in every Parish are obliged in some Provinces to fetch it also from those *Salt-Granaries*, to distribute it among the People; for tis not raised in the same method every where. In some Places nobody is obliged to take more than he can spend, but in most other places every one is forced to take a certain quantity, tho' he does not need one half of it for his own use, and if so be he would bestow the Overplus of it as Charity to any Beggar, and that the thing were proved, he, as well as the Beggar must to the Gallies, because they will suppose that he sells it; and several thousands of poor people are sent to the Gallies every year upon the account of the Salt.

Formerly the Nobility and Gentry were free from this horrid Imposition, that is 30 years ago,

ago, because of the Services supposed to have been done by their Ancestors to the Crown, and because they commonly serve in the King's Armies and must be always ready. But this King has taken away all their Priviledges and increased all their Charges

Some Proprietors had some Springs and Pits of Salt-water, which were part of their Estates, but they have been all stopt by the Kings Order, and if so be the Proprietor open them again, he must go to the Gallies.

The *Gabelle* is a great Branch of the King's Reuenuue, but 'tis fallen at least two thirds since the War. It did maintain, besides what the King got in clear Money from it, about 30 thousand Men, called *Gabeleurs* in the Kingdom, all Armed as Soldiers both Horse and Foot, who did commit horrid Violences and Oppressions against the Nobility and People, but the number of 'em must also be much diminished, because of the Ruine of that Kingdom, and that the King wants such Men for Soldiers.

There are other Impositions also; as,

The Mark upon Paper.

The Duty upon stampt Paper and Parchment.

Upon the Paper for Forms and Registers, Deeds, Notes, &c.

The Mark upon Silver-Plate.

Tin, Pewter.

Hatts.

Silk and Woollen Stockins.

Shoes.

Ferrwicks.

And also upon Tobacco, besides what is paid at the Custom-Office.

Upon all sort of Stuffs, either of Silk or Wooll, made in the Kingdom, besides those that are imported.

All sorts of Linnen.

Upon the Ice.

And Leather.

Thread.

And all sorts of Laces, either Gold or Silver, Silk, Woollen or Linnen, &c.

Upon Cards.

Dice.

Needles.

Pins.

Earthen-Pots and Vessels.

Spinning wheels.

Window-glasses.

Drinking-glasses, Bottles and all sorts of Glass-work.

Upon all Measures, for things Dry and Liquid, as Bushels, Pecks, Pots, and even the Pails of the poor Criers of Water in the Streets of *Paris*, who must pay very dear for the Mark of the aforesaid Pails, &c.

There are also other Impositions, viz.

Upon all Offices of Charrets in the Kingdom,

dom, called *Burcaux de Messagerie*, who pay very dear for that Priviledge.

Upon all Hackney-Coaches, thro' the Kingdom, and upon all Horse-litters.

Upon the Water-Boats, called *Coches d'Eau*, which carry People by Water.

Hackney Horses.

Chair-men.

Porters.

And those who empty Houses of Office.

Then there are other Taxes, viz.

Upon the Fees, called *Biens Nobles*, every five years, which are very heavy.

The Inquiries after the Titles of the Nobility, now and then, which have ruined many of them in this Reign, as well by the Sums given to the King on pretence of the weakness of their Titles, as to the Prosecutors, besides all other Expences, and the loss of Time; for the Nobility were obliged to go sometimes fifty Leagues to shew their Titles, tho' the same Titles had been formerly approved of, and if they had lost them by fire or otherwise, they were cast, or if they had bought Letters of Nobility about 80 or a hundred years ago, they were obliged to pay for 'em again, or if they had been in some function, called *Ignoble*, that is, below a Nobleman, they were obliged to buy their Nobility again. A hundred such unworthy ways have been used against them in this Reign

So that the Nobility and Gentry have more reason to abhor this Reign than any other Subjects in the Kingdom.

Then there is the Sale of Letters of Nobility.

Where I would desire the Reader to observe, that the Enquiry of which we spoke just now, was under pretence to purge the false Nobility from the true, and now by the sale of the Nobility, any Rascal is made Noble for Money: And this King has made abundance of such Nobles for their Coin, who are at last turned Beggars as well as the rest.

Then there is the voluntary Rehabilitation of those who pretending to have been Nobles formerly, had fallen from their Nobility, and desired to be restored to it for Money; Besides this, there is another Rehabilitation which is forced, that is, when the *Maltotiers* question a Gentleman's Nobility, under pretence that his Grandfather, or Father, or he himself has been in some low function, &c.

And then the Confirmation from time to time, of the Letters of Nobility, costs as much as at first.

Another Trick was the *Cassation* or Forfeiture of the said Nobility, for want of the Payment of the said Confirmation, because they were exhausted and ruined: So that they lose the same Nobility, which they paid so dear for, tho' their Ancestors have enjoyed the Title for a great many years.

And

And this new Tax about the Coats of Arms and the Titles which the Gentry have assumed to themselves, is another new Vexation as well against them, as the rest of the Nation. This King has plaid them twenty such Tricks; so that it was said by an ingenious Man, that the Nobility in France was like a Copp-wood to the King, which he cut down once in 6, or 7, or 9 years, according to his fancy.

Then there are Taxes for the Homages of the Lands, holding directly of the Kings Demain, besides all other great Charges and Expences on that Account.

There are also Taxes now and then upon the *Free Allodium*, called *Franc Allen*, which were so heavy two years ago, that a great many People did offer the said Lands to the King, to be rid of the Tax, but they were rejected and forced to pay that extraordinary Tax, besides the yearly Taxes, and those very excessive too, which the said Lands pay constantly.

There is likewise a Tax upon all Waters that water Lands; that is upon Rivers, Brooks and Rivulets which run along by the Lands of every Person: As also upon the Springs, and Pits, or other Waters, Cisterns or Wells to water the Cattle, and in general upon all Waters that may be useful; which strange Tax was raised two years ago at a strange rate.

The Tax of the *Franc fiefs*, that is, of Fees possessed by those who are not of the Nobility and Gentry. This is not paid yearly, but only when

when the King pleases, and has been paid several times within this ten yearslast, tho' they had paid vast Sums for the Immunity from it for ever, and for the confirmation of the same, besides the great *Taxes* on their *Dove-houses*.

There are also *Taxes* upon a great many people, and those very heavy too, on pretence that in some places they have incroached upon the High-ways, if it be but half an Inch; and tho' 'tis commonly a false Accusation, yet they must pay nevertheless, else the K. and the Farmers of Impositions would ruine 'em totally.

They are obliged likewise to pay *Taxes* for the Islands in Rivers, tho' the Families who are in possession, had enjoyed them for three or four Centuries, as their other Patrimonial Estates, and besides the Tax for having enjoyed it so long, the King has dispoiled the Proprietors of the said Islands, great and small, pretending that all the Rivers with all their Effects and Appurtenances do belong to him.

There are extraordinary *Taxes* also upon all Water and Wind-mills, besides the ordinary *Taxes* upon all Estates, on pretence that both the Wind and Waters belong to him.

He hath also laid *Taxes* upon the new Purchases either of Lands or Houses, which obliges them to pay him a great part of the value.

As also upon Estates sold by Decree, the King has a share in them, because he pretends that the Buyer has a great penny worth of them.

Then there's the Quint and Requint, which
is

is another extraordinary Tax upon Lands sold.

Le Tiers & danger upon the Woods of *Normandy*; which is a strange Tax that he has raised in *Normandy*. They found in the *Norman* Charters that the old Dukes of *Normandy*, had part of their ancient Revenue settled upon the Woods of that Province, for which the Proprietors did pay a *Tantum* every year to their Duke for the maintaining of the Government, and paid no other Impositions besides this. Now finding this in the Records, the King pretended to enjoy the same again, and demanded vast Sums of the Proprietors for the Arrears, for so many Centuries. A great many of the Nobility were ruined by it; I know one Family, viz. Mr. *de Courtaumer's*, who paid 80 thousand Livers for this Tax, and all of them offered the Funds to the King for the Imposition, but in vain: So that the King got above 20 Millions for that Tax out of that Province alone.

Then there are other Taxes, called the *Acapte*, *Infeodation* of *Accrue* and *Champart*, and the *Reunion* of *Crements*, *Sands* and *Gravels*, which are some Reunions that are made to the King's Demains, of all Lands supposed to have been formed by the Gravel or Dirt, cast up either by the Sea or Rivers; which ruins abundance of People, who had Lands, Houses and Gardens there.

There has been a Reunion also of all the Houses and Gardens supposed to have been built too near the ancient Rampiers of Walled

led Towns which were all fallen, and no body knew that they had ever been Rampiers. The King has confiscated all such Estates, or got Money for 'em.

Then there is the Creation of Offices *per force*, with some small wages ill paid.

The abolishing of great part of the same Offices.

The selling of the same again to others, without reimbursing the Persons dispossessed; when at the same time the old Offices are not worth the fourth nor sixth part, nay, the tenth part of what they have been sold for.

This Creating and Abolishing of Offices has produced to the *French* King several hundreds of Millions, and would require a whole *Book* by it self to give an Account of it.

There has also been an *Augmentation of Wages* for all the old Offices, which one would think was very advantageous to them; but the contrary will appear thus; the King wanting Money had a mind to Tax them, some in 20, 30 or 40 thousand Livers, more or less. Now the Council found out this way as least odious, *viz* to augment their Wages, suppose a 1000 Livers *per Annum*, upon condition that they should give him for it 20 thousand Livers, more or less, as he thought fit. This is called by the specious Name of *Augmentation of Wages*, tho'tis a perfect Robbery, for they are ill paid of their old and new Wages, and will at last

last lose their Offices for the most part, and never be reimbursed of any thing.

It is also to be observed that all those new Officers ought by their agreement with the King to be free from almost all Taxes, which would be mighty oppressive to the rest, but the King does not keep his word to them, nor can he do it, or else he should get but little from the rest.

This innumerable multitude of Officers, and the great quantity of Coin and Plate, that they had hoarded up, has been a great Resource to the King for many years; So that he thought it would have been unexhaustible, and that he might conquer all the world with it. This has been partly the cause of the desolation of the Kingdom; But we may justly say, that his design of conquering others by so great a destruction of his own people, was just like that of a Man who should sell his Horse to buy Hay.

There is also a Creation of Master ships in all Trades and Handicrafts for Money.

Extraordinary Taxes upon every Corporation or Company of Handicrafts, and petty Tradesmen, in all Cities, Towns, and Boroughs.

There has been a Creation of many thousands of Officers amongst them, whose functions are limited within the Society to which they do belong; besides other Offices which they had before, or might have afterwards for Money. Then

Then there are Taxes upon all those who have been in any Commission, great or small, about any function relating to the Finances, and upon all their Charges and Offices.

There has been an increasing of Wages to them also, as well as to all Officers of Judicature and Civil Government, by forcing them to give the King great Sums of Money.

There are also other Impositions upon the Officers of Judicature, and Civil Government.

There is the Price of the Valuation.

And the *Marc d'or*.

There are also extraordinary Taxes imposed now and then on all those who have been concerned either in the general or particular Farms of the Impositions, or in any other wherein 'tis supposed they get Money; this present King has got from such Persons at several times above 200 Millions of Livers, and 'tis probable that as soon as the Peace is concluded he will ruine them all, for he cannot do it now, because they advance him Money.

There are also extraordinary Taxes upon all others, who are supposed to be in a good Condition, tho' really ruined, and which does in effect ruine them totally.

And then there's to pay for all Officers created,

The 2 pence in the Liver.

The Right of the Seal.

The Right of Control.

The Right of Enregistring.

The Right of the Oath.

Loans

Loans forced upon thousands and thousands of People.

Then there is the Loan, called *Prest*, to be admitted to the Annual or *Paulette*, so called from the Name of the first inventor; it is a Sum of Money which the Officers of Judicature give yearly to the King, to maintain themselves in the Hereditary Possession of their Office; and if so be they did not pay it exactly, their Office returns to the King after their Death. Commonly this *Tax* is as much as the Wages the King allows them, with this difference, that the King pays them very ill, and that what he is owing to them is not deducted upon what they owe him, and they are prosecuted when they do not pay, tho' he does not pay them himself.

They have yet several other *Taxes* to pay from time to time, and are obliged to suffer several diminutions in their Wages yearly, for the Superior Companies have but three quarters of their *VVages*, the Inferiour only two, and the *Comptables*, so called, oftentimes but one, and those *VVages* are also inconsiderable; And they are obnoxious now and then to dreadful extraordinary *Taxes*, and to some Fixations of their Offices, which now and then makes all their Offices fall one half of a sudden, and very often they are cashier'd without any reimbursement.

The Reunion to the Kings Demain, of the Rents alienated on the Town Houses, that is to

to say, the King turns Bankrupt when he pleases, and he takes away when he pleases, without reimbursing any Body, all that which did belong to Commonalties, Towns and to a great number of private Men, which had lent him Sums of Money in the Exigencies of the State, and to whom the Rent of them was paid upon the Revenues which the King got from those Cities and Towns.

He Reunites, I say, all such Rents to his Demain and dispoils his Creditors. My own Family has lost 40 thousand Livers by that way. He Reunites also to the same Demain several other Rights that have been possessed, or enjoyed by Cities, Corporations or Private Persons, time out of Mind, as the Right of Fuel in some Forests, some Pastures, Woods, Rivers, Heaths, Morasses, &c.

He has also appropriated to himself the Revenues of great many Hospitals in the Kingdom, as also all the Funds belonging to Towns, whose Revenue did help towards the Repairing of the High-ways and Streets, and the Publick Buildings.

He has so exacted sometimes from several Persons great Sums of Money, under pretence of setting up the *East or West-India Companies*, which Sums have been lost to the lenders, because he applied them to his own uses.

Other Impositions or Branches of the *French Kings Revenues*, are, *La Dîme*, or the Custom.

* *La Foraine*, the Custom upon all Foreign Commodities.

The 5 great Farms, so called, because there was no greater then, but now there are several others much greater.

The Custom of *Valence*.

Of *Lions*.

Of *Bordeaux*.

Of *Rouen*.

The Patent of *Languedoc*.

That of *Provence* and *Arzat*.

The Convey of *Bordeaux*.

The Custom of *Bayonne*.

The Farm of *Broûage*.

The Growth of *Ingrande*, *Les Crues d'Ingrande*.

The Farm of the River *Loire* in the places of *Océroy*.

Foreign draught, or *Traites étrangères*.

The *Tariff*.

The Custom of *Roussillon*.

The Prevoistship of *Nantes*.

The Custom of *Charente*.

The Duty of 30 pence besides, by Tun of freight upon the Foreign Ships.

The 9 Livres 18 pence of *Picardy*.

The Ancient 10 pence of *Paris*.

The New 10 pence of *Paris*.

The 30 pence of *Paris*.

The Controll of the Beers of *Paris*.

The Demain of *Languedoc*.

The Ancient Demain of *Navarre*.

The New Demain of *Navarre*.

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The Demain of Queen Marguerite.

The Demain of Chateau Renaut.

The Demain of the Queen Mother.

'Tis true those Demains are of an inconsiderable Revenue, but the Reunions he has made to them, and the several new Impositions added, to which he has given the Name of the Kings Demain, make it a Farm very considerable.

Other Impositions are,

The Farm of Iron.

The Farm of Paper, and of the Contralls of all the Offices.

The Fraught of all Foreign Ships; Subsistences and Subventions of Towns; Taxes and Fines for the Crimes committed several years ago.

Duties upon the Vintners.

Upon Poulterers.

Upon the Loaders of Wood and Charcoal.

Upon the Loaders of Hay.

Upon Fish of all sorts.

Contrall of the Linnen-Cloath at Paris.

Redemptions.

The doubling of the Mark of Gold.

Local Offices.

Lots and Sales.

Disinheritings.

Bastardships.

The raising now and then the Value of the Coin, as has been done twice since the beginning of this War, as I observed before.

Pro-

Prohibitions now and then to some Professions at *Paris* not to work any more of their Trade without permission, or else a prohibition of their *VVares*, to oblige them to bring in to the King a great Sum of Money, this we have seen several times done as to those who work in Gold and Laces, Fringes, &c. who made up a good Sum of Money to present to the King, in order to have the prohibition removed.

Marks upon the *VVine* sold by wholesale.
Convoy and Connestable-ships.
Cinders graveled and soddered.

The Overtols, or *Sustans* of *Lions's Custom*.

The Duty upon the sale of Wood and Forests of the Isle of *France*, Generality of *Paris*, *Soissons*, *Orleans*, *Tours*, *Chalons*, *Roüen*, *Caen*, and the Country of *Perche*.

The Casual Parties, this Farm has produced more Money to the King these eight last years of the War, than a great many other ordinary Impositions.

For the maintaining of the Banks and Borders of Rivers, &c.

The Ban and Arrierban upon the Nobility, upon the Citizens of all the Cities called *Free*, upon the *Mareschalseas*; by this way many thousands are compelled to serve in the Armies, & to equip themselves, who have not wherewithal to do it, or are *Lame*, or *Old*, or *Widows*, or *Heyresses*; all those who cannot go, must give the King every one 50 *Pistols* to equip a Man in their room.

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He has since this War forced the City of *Paris* to yield him the Sum of Money raised yearly for Lanterns and Scavengers, and took upon him the care of that Affair, obliging the People to advance him the Money necessary for doing the same for 20 years, but 'tis thought he will not keep his word, because he is not able to perform it if he would.

In every Province, nay, in every Town almost there are Impositions unknown to other Towns and Provinces. But the great ones are general, except in the Provinces that have Estates, who have their own Methods, but are almost as much ruined as the rest, for they are Slaves as well as others.

Some of those Impositions afore named may seem to have been repeated twice, but the Reader is desired to observe that tho' several of the Impositions have the same Name, yet they are different in Nature.

The Capitation was set up about 3 years ago, from which they expected a great Succour, but found it came much short of what they expected, tho' all the Subjects did pay it without any exception, nay, even the Foot Soldiers paid their 20 pences *per annum* a-piece. This imposition has no doubt taught them, that there was much less People in the Kingdom than they thought.

This Tax is raised in many Places by Collectors, who have orders to quarter Soldiers upon all those who cannot pay it, and at least

to pay for them, unless they will be quartered upon themselves. They have doubled and trebled it since the first year that it was established, and do force as I have said already, the Friends of the Deceased to pay for those who died since. It is also to be observed, that in the Kings Tariff about the Capitation, a Man who had three or four Titles, as that of *Citizen*, and *Gentleman*, &c. should pay only for one of them, but in the Execution they made them pay for all their Titles. And since they have laid a Tax upon all those who assume the qualities of Marquis, Count, Viscount, Barons, Knight, Messire, Esquire, Nobleman, &c. and upon their Coats of Arms, from which they expect great Sums, but all in vain, for all sorts of conditions of Men are exhausted and ruined.

If there was such a thing in *France* as the Taxes that are raised here in every Parish for the relief of the Poor, the King should appropriate them to himself, as he has done with the Revenue of almost all the Hospitals in the Kingdom. The new Converts have also paid in particular several great Taxes, under divers pretences, either because they did not go to the Popish Churches, or did not send their Children to the Catechism of *Rome*, &c.

The King has caused in the year of the Famine, the Corn, Wine and Fruits to be transported from Farmers and Gentlemens Houses to his Magazines *per Force*, without paying any thing for them, or discharging them of part of their

their Taxes. He has forced the Shopkeepers and Tradesmen in the Garrisons to give upon trust to his Officers and Soldiers what they wanted, without paying any thing. 'Tis to be observed further, that this King has erected or set up lately Office-Houses in all Parishes, and Officers, who bought such Places, for the keeping of all Cattle and Household-goods executed for the Kings Taxes, the Collectors must execute all without Mercy, or else they shall perish in the Goal; The Cattle or Goods executed are to be sold at an appointed day, and commonly for less than half of the value, and upon the remnant, the Officer of the Office has 2 pence in the Liver, besides the charges of the Bailiffs who did execute, and of all the proceedings done in marked Paper. All this was prognosticated to Mankind, by this Kings being born with teeth, whereby he did devour all his nursing Mothers Breasts, which did signifie to the world that he would devour his own Country.

It is also observable that in all those Impositions, there is not one that concerns the Clergy. But yet they have agreed, as I said, to pay 20 Millions of Livers for 5 years of the Capitation, besides what they paid under the name of *Decimes*, which amounted to 4 or 5 Million.

Here I cannot but take notice of what *Fra Paolo* has observed in his History of the Council of *Trent*, viz. that in the Commonwealth of *Israel*, the Tribe of *Levi*, who were appointed by God as Ministers of the Church, who

made

made the twelfth part of all the Nation, had for its maintenance but the 10 part of the Fruits of the Earth, whereas in the Roman Church the Clergy who does not make commonly in every Nation under the Popes Yoke, one with another, above the 30th or 40th part of it, possesses the half of all the Revenues and above.

The French Clergy in general took always great care to conceal the quantity of their Revenues, for fear that the other Members of the Nation, should make complaints when they saw them discharged from all Impositions, while they who are useful to the Nation, are so abominably oppressed with Taxes. This is the reason why the Authors speak so differently of the French Clergy's Revenues; some saying they possess 3 parts in 5 of all the Estates in the Kingdom, others 2 parts in 5, others 7 parts of twelve; And I took the *Medium* of those Suppositions, that is, the half of all the Estates in the Kingdom. They have another great Resource in their Forests of High-Trees, called *Bois de Futaie*, which they have not been obliged to sell for want, as other Subjects have been; 'tis thought the 2 thirds of such Woods in the Kingdom belong to them; besides that, they are not indebted as others are; and then some Orders of the Clergy, as the Jesuits and Fathers *de l'Oratoire*, have great Profits from their Schools and Boarders, for almost all the Colledges in the Kingdom are in the hands of them, or of some other Priests, and, as I said, all these Sects of Men may retrench their numbers without any inconvenience, and be so much the richer.

It must be observed, that the Vexations committed in the raising of all the said Taxes, are almost as chargeable to the People as the Taxes themselves.

I shall only add this, because I perceive this Book grows too big, that all those Impositions and a great many more were for the most part comprehended under 7 general Farms, *viz.* under the name of *Taille, Gabelle,*

Aides, Domane, the five great Farms, the *Casual Par-tyer*, the *Demain*, and each of them in several Inferior Branches, which were all let out apart to several general Farmers, which did appoint under themselves other particular Farmers, which did draw from the People as much as they could, having a Lease for 3, or 5, or 7 years more or less, and did advance vast Sums of Money to the King; they took them formerly at *forfait*, as they call it, that is, they paid so much yearly whether there was profit to be made by 'em or no; but now, because of the Destruction of the Kingdom, they take them only as Stewards who are only to give an Account of what they receive; But sometimes to impose upon the People and Foreign Nations, and make 'em believe that the Publick Revenues are not so much diminished, in order to maintain the Kings Credit, the King obliges 'em to draw up Leases with him, by which it seems they pay almost as much as formerly, but they get a Counterletter from him or his Ministers for their security; and tho' they are but Stewards and Administrators, yet they get still vast Estates, tho' not so great as formerly, and advance Money to the King still, which is a great advantage to him.

A great Volume in *Folio* would not be sufficient to give a perfect Account of all what relates to the ordinary and extraordinary Impositions and Taxes; and besides there are so many Additions and Changes every year, that 'tis as with the City of *London*, of which 'tis a hard matter to make a good Map, because of the Additions, Alterations and Changes made every year.

I must yet add this, that notwithstanding the great Ruine of *France*, she is able yet, by the Despotical Authority of her Monarch, to do after the Peace, which seem to be in a forwardness, horrid Mischiefs, which I pray God to avert from us.

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